



TYPE OF A CLASS OF MEN ASPIRING TO LEADERSHIP.
From the original Painting by Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
By the courtesy of Maulvi Abdul Hayy, owner of the picture

வினோபாசந்த புத்தகாலை
ஹிந்து மதாபிமான சங்கம்
காரைக்குடி.

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THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT OF A STORY

[The following paper was written by the Author of "At Home and Outside" in answer to the letter of a lady criticising the publication of his novel.]

MY writings do not please all my readers, but whenever they take the trouble to make me realise that fact, they usually employ a form of language in which I am no master. For this reason I never answer them.

But the letter, which has just reached me, contains to my surprise complaints, but no insults. It comes from a lady, who is a stranger to me, and it is evident that she has felt pain, though she has avoided giving it. Her letter which puts forward some questions for me to answer is unaddressed. From that I could infer that these questions come from her, as a representative of the public, and she wants the answer to be sent to the address of the same public.

First of all, she has asked me, with some dismay, what was my object in writing this story?

The answer to this is, that the true object of writing a story is story-writing. In a word, I write a story because it is my wish. But this cannot be interpreted as an object, because when you say 'wish', you ignore all other aims. All the same, when people are expecting some object, it sounds like insolence, if you tell them that you have no object to speak of.

Yet, very often, an object is revealed to an onlooker which escapes the principal actor. The antelope does not know why its skin is marked; but those who write notes on the subject tell us, that the marks are there to make it less conspicuous to its pursuers. This guess may or may not be true, but it is quite evident that the object is not in the mind of the antelope.

But you may contend that the object which was in the mind of the Creator is manifested through the antelope; and

that in like manner, the age in which he is born expresses its object through the author. It cannot be gainsaid, that the age acts, consciously or unconsciously, upon the author's mind; nevertheless, I assert that this action is that of an artist, not of a teacher. The age is weaving in our minds its web of many-coloured threads simply for the purpose of creation. If you must utilise it, then the object becomes yours. This modern age of our country's history has secretly touched with its brush the present author's mind, and the impressions of that touch have come out in this novel. These impressions are artistic impressions.

Let us take the example of a great writing, such as Shakespeare's "Othello." If the poet were asked, what was his object in writing the play, it would drive him out of his wits to give a reply. If, after a great deal of cogitation, he came out with an answer, I am sure it would be a wrong one. If I happen to be a member of the "Brahmin Association," I should be certain that the poet's object was to offer sound advice to the world about respect for colour distinctions. If I am opposed to the emancipation of women, I should say that the poet wanted to prove the mistake of allowing women to mix freely with men. If I have a strong prejudice against the poet's moral ideals and intelligence, then I shall have no doubt that he was trying to prove, that devotion to one's husband leads to terrible consequences, or else that this play was a cruel irony against the simplicity of noble minds and a vindication of the villainy of Iago. But the real thing is this,—he has written a play. No doubt, the poet's likes and dislikes lie inherent in his work, and also the genius of his age and country,—not in the shape of moral lessons, but of artistic creation. That is to say, these belong to

the very life and beauty of the play. When I see a Bengali before me, I see him one with his race and ancestry. I see no line of cleavage between his individuality and his race. So, also, in a poet's works, the individuality and the environment are vitally blended.

This is why I was saying that, when I am writing a story, my contemporary experience is woven into its fabric and also my personal likes and dislikes. But their coloured threads, tinged with life's own colour, are simply the materials which the artist has in his hands to use. If you read any object into the work, it is not mine but your own.

Rich men use the tails of yaks for making whisks; but the poor yak knows that the tail belongs to its own vital organisations and to cut it off and make it into an 'object' is absolutely alien to its nature.

My next point is that, when there is a conflict between my own ideals and those of my readers, the reader has the advantage of being able to inflict punishment. When a child has a fall, it kicks at the floor on which it fell; and it is a well-known fact that the generality of readers follow the same rule. But that the punishment is always just and inevitable, I do not admit.

Grown-up people may not be afraid of ghosts. They may even think it harmful to foster the fear of ghosts. Yet, when a grown-up person reads a ghost story, he need not remember all this. For, in a story, the question of opinion does not matter; it is the enjoyment which is important.

When a man of real culture, who is a Christian, judges some image of a Hindu god made by a Hindu artist, it will be a real help to him to forget, for the time, that he is a missionary. But, if unfortunately he cannot do so, then he must not blame the Hindu artist; for the latter naturally paints his picture according to his own faith and tradition; nevertheless, because it is a picture, there is something in it which is above his faith and tradition and that is the living spirit. If that spirit is unacceptable to one who is not a Hindu, then it is either due to the insensibility of the critic, in which case he is to blame, or it is due to the deficiency in the inspiration itself, in which case the blame must rest with the artist.

Englishmen have a special kind of

kerosene lamp. Hindus had lamps of their own before these English lamps were introduced. The difference here lies in the lamps; but light is light, both to the Hindu and to the Englishman. There is every likelihood of a difference of opinion between my countrymen and myself as to what is good for my country. But if my story is a story, then, in spite of my opinions, it will float.

When, however, the opinions are of such a nature, that they cannot but deeply concern my readers, it would be foolish to expect from them that perfect detachment of mind which is necessary for true appreciation, and in that case, the lamp which bears the light becomes more important than the light itself.

Let us agree to this.

Then what is the advice which the author must follow? Should he change his opinion altogether with regard to the good and bad of his country? If his readers are incapable of doing so, simply for the sake of the story, what obligation has the author to play such moral somersaults, simply for the sake of his readers? But if it is maintained that the cause of one's country is greater than the perfection of a story, then this holds good for the reader as well as for the writer.

It is the paramount duty of the author to fix his attention only on the perfecting of his story, not on the applause of his reading public. But if this duty, for some reason or other, becomes impossible, then let him think what is good for his country, and not merely that his country should think him good.

The second question which the writer puts is whether the story of this novel is imaginary or whether it has its basis in actual fact; and if the latter, then does that fact belong to some orthodox Hindu family,—or to some sect enamoured of its western culture?

My answer is,—the story portion, like that contained in most of my writings, is imaginary. But that is not a complete answer to my correspondent. There is an implication hidden in the question, that such events as I have described are impossible in orthodox Hinduism.

An exact coincidence of an imaginary story with some real fact is nowhere possible, either in an orthodox family, or in a family that has drifted away from orthodoxy. You can merely gossip about

things that have actually happened in some family ; you cannot write a story about them.

The possibilities that lie deep in human nature are the basis of the plots of all the best stories and dramas in literature. There is eternal truth in human nature itself, but not in mere events. Events happen in a different manner in different places. They are never the same on two occasions. But man's nature, which is at the root of these events, is the same in all ages ; therefore the author keeps his eye fixed on human nature and avoids all exact copying of actual events.

The question reduces itself to this, whether human nature in orthodox Hindu families always follows the direction of the orthodox Hindu code. Does it never, on any provocation whatever, break away from its tether and run wild ?

It is a matter of common observation, from the Vedic period up to the present, that the fight is endless between the outbreak of nature on the one hand and man's heroic remedies on the other. If there exists a Hindu society, where such a fight is altogether impossible, its address is concealed from us. Then further, one must know that where there is no possibility of evil, there can be no place for good. If it is absolutely impossible for a member of an orthodox Hindu family to go wrong, then the members of that family are neither good nor bad, but puppets worked by the texts of ancient scriptures.

We have seen the ugliest calumnies against women written in old Sanskrit verses, such as are rare in those authors who are proud of their western culture. This proves that our modern Bengali writers have a genuine regard for women. At the same time, one must fully admit that these ancient calumnies may be wrong, when applied to the whole of womankind. But if they were untrue even with regard to individual women, how did they come to be written at all ?

So our discussion narrows itself down to this point, whether the impulse for evil, which is a fact of human nature, can be a proper subject for literature. The answer to this question has been given by literature itself, through all ages and all countries, and therefore it will not matter if I remain silent about it.

Unfortunately, in Bengali, the criticism

of literature has resolved itself into a judgment of the proprieties which are necessary for orthodoxy. Our critics go to the extreme tenuity of debate as to the excellence of Bankim's heroines in their strict conformity with the canons of Hinduism. Whether the indignation which Bhramar showed against her husband took away from the transcendental preciousness of her Hindu womanhood ; whether the inability of Surjamukhi to accept, as her friend, her co-wife, Kunda, has cheapened the value of her Hindu character ; how far Sakuntala is the perfect Hindu woman and Dushyanta the perfect Hindu king,—these are the questions seriously discussed in the name of literary criticism. Such criticism can only be found in our country, among all the countries of the world.

There are a crowd of heroines in Shakespeare's dramas, but their excellence is not judged according to their peculiar English qualities ; and even the most fanatical Christian theologians desist from awarding them marks, in order of merit, according to their degree of Christianity. But possibly I am spoiling my own cause by admitting this, because our modern Bengali takes a special pride in thinking that India has nothing in common with the rest of the world.

But India is not a creation of the Bengalis, and it had already existed before we began our literary criticism. The classification of heroines which we find in the rhetoric of ancient India, was not in accordance with the models put forward in the Laws of Manu. I am not for such classification at all, because literature is not science ; if in literature heroes and heroines are introduced according to certain classified types, then such literature becomes a toy shop, not an ideal world of living creatures. If one must indulge in this absurd mania for classification, even in literature, then at least it should follow the line of human nature as much as possible, instead of being arranged on the wooden shelves of what is Hindu, and what is not.

My last request to my correspondent is this, that she should take me seriously when I say that I love my country. If I did not, then it would have been quite easy for me to become popular with my countrymen.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

WOMEN AS COMBATANTS IN EAST AND WEST

THOUGH it is not likely or desirous that any considerable number of women will join the profession of arms, it is impossible not to admire the spirit in which some have shared in the privations of dangers of war side by side with those of the sterner sex. If we search the records of the various armies, we shall find that every country is able to point to individual cases of women who have volunteered for active service and who have rendered a worthy account of themselves when engaged in upholding the cause of their country. We propose to cite a few instances from the records of the armies in the East and the West, and these will serve to show that when the occasion demands the women are prepared to take up not only the lighter duties connected with the preparations for war, but to serve in the ranks as common soldiers. Though in one sense combatants, we do not propose to deal with the cases of women whose names are world wide, such as Joan of Arc, Boadecia, and the famous Indian queens, but we seek to recall the exploits of the women who have shared in a real sense the fighting experiences of the men.

The adventures of the British Amazon, Mrs. Christiana Davis, are recorded in a book, a copy of which is preserved in the British museum. On the title page of the book is the following—

"The Life and Adventures of Mrs Christiana Davis, the British Amazon, commonly called Mother Ross, who served as a footsoldier and dragoon in several campaigns under King William and the late Duke of Marlborough; Containing variety of transactions both serious and diverting wherein she gave surprising proofs of courage, strength and dexterity in handling all sorts of weapon rarely to be met with in the contrary sex, for which, besides being otherwise rewarded, she was made a pensioner of Chelsea College by Queen Anne, where her husband now is sergeant, and she continued to her death. The whole taken from her own mouth and known to be true by many noblemen, generals, and other officers, mentioned in her life and still living, who served in those wars at the same time and were witnesses of her uncommon martial bravery."

From the accounts that have appeared of this wonderful woman's life it appears that she served for several years with great valour in the Inniskilling regiment. In the Battle of Aghraim she was severely

wounded and it was then that her sex was discovered. But she was retained in the army and afterwards took part in the war in Flanders where she rendered splendid help to the soldiers by carrying water and other necessities "even to the mouth of the cannon." As a reward for her services the King granted her a pension of one shilling per day for life. She died in 1739 and was interred, as she desired, in the Pensioners' Burying Ground, the soldiers firing three volleys over her grave. It is recorded that she fought in three battles and was three times wounded.

Another interesting case from the British army may be quoted. In the army of the British that fought at Fontenoy, there was a woman named Phoebe Hessel who was born at Stepney in the year 1713. Her memory is perpetuated by a tombstone in the graveyard of the parish church of St. Nicholas, Brighton. The inscription states that she served for many years as private soldier in the 5th Regiment of Foot in different parts of Europe, and that during the battle of Fontenoy she received a severe bayonet wound in her arm. She lived to a good old age, dying as late as 1821, being then 108 years old. George the Fourth seems to have taken great interest in her and is said to have provided handsomely for her in her old days. Some years ago the Chicago Hussars had on its roll a certain Nicholas de Raylam, who enjoyed the reputation of being a hard rider, an inveterate smoker and a "jolly good fellow". In civil life this person was secretary of the Russian Consulate in Chicago, and was credited with great skill as a diplomatist. Though for long her companions would not credit the fact, it was shown that the boon companion and clever diplomat was really a woman.

When the first signs of rot set in in Russia after the Revolution, the country was stirred by the news of the formation of a Women's Battalion of Death. The Commander, Madam Botchkereva, succeeded in getting together a considerable number of women from all classes, and within a comparatively short time these women were drilled and trained and ready for active service. The story of their efforts to hold the line must stand out as one of

the most glorious in Russian annals, for in that attempt to hold back the enemy when the men were running nearly half their number were killed or wounded. The women composing this battalion were dressed in full men's uniform and took their place on the same footing as the rest of the army. Before leaving for the front a picturesque and significant spectacle was witnessed in the square of St. Isaac Cathedral when the colours of the regiment were blessed. Mlle. Michailoff, in command of the first battalion to serve in the trenches, stated that the Chief of Staff declared the Battalion was one of the most perfectly disciplined and trained units around Petrograd. We have no clear details as to the part they took in the recent fighting in Petrograd though Reuter mentioned the fact that they held out for some time in the Winter Palace against the Maximalists. It will be interesting to follow the development of this movement.

In connection with Russia mention must be made of the "Lady Chevalier", Nadezhda Andreyevna Dourova, whose experiences as a common soldier must surely be among the most interesting records of the Russian Army. When quite a young girl she was attracted to military life, and after donning a boy's dress, and the garb of a Cossack, succeeded in enlisting. The Cossacks were delighted with this sixteen year-old boy, and she soon became a favourite. Through the winter she marched and camped with her regiment, took part in all their daily work and drill, and practised all the details of military service with untiring zeal and diligence, leading without a murmur the hard life of a common Russian soldier. She took part in her first battle at Gustadt, and in her autobiography she records her sensations as she joined in the combat. In the course of this battle Nadezhda observed that some of the enemy's dragoons had wounded a Russian officer, whom they were about to finish. The young Amazon, without a thought dashed up on horseback to the rescue and by her dauntless courage she put the French dragoons to flight. She helped the wounded man on to her own horse and brought him safely back to the rear. She took part in the bloody battle of Friedland where more than half her regiment were left dead on the field. Again

she showed great courage and succeeded in saving the life of a comrade. By this a rumour had got abroad that she was really a woman, and the Emperor Alexander himself sent for her and received the young Cossack, now aged nineteen, very graciously. She confessed she was a girl and the Emperor praised her pluck and said that she had set an almost unprecedented example of heroism to the women of the empire. On expressing her strong desire to remain in the army, the Emperor appointed her to be an officer, and gave her his own name, Alexander, by which she was afterwards known. She gradually rose in the army and became the gallant, skilled, and trustworthy commander of a squadron of horse. She took part in nearly all the battles, exposing herself fearlessly wherever the fight was thickest and the danger greatest. At Smolensk she took part in the battle against Napoleon and had many escapes. In this campaign she was again wounded. At the age of 25 feeling that her duty was beside her invalid father, she left the army and spent the rest of her life as a novelist. She died in 1886, and was buried with full military honours.

Gibbon relates the story of the heroism of the wife of Aban, one of the officers of the Saracens in the war against the Arabs. On the death of her husband she laid hold of his weapons and entered into the midst of the fighters. It is said that her first arrow pierced the hand of the standard bearer and the second wounded the archer who was responsible for the death of many Saracens. The names of several Muhammadan women who followed their husbands to the wars might be quoted as instances of personal bravery on the battlefield. On several occasions the women of the East have enlisted in the armies, and in the battles they wielded the bow and the lance with great dexterity, and showed by their horsemanship their ability to take their place beside the men. The conquest of Bokhara by Kotaiba is said to have been due to the presence of mind and courage shown by the women who followed the army to the front on active service. In Indian history there are several instances of women serving as regular soldiers. The army of Timur was composed of men and women, the latter riding on horseback with consummate skill. The daughter

of Shah AltaMash, named Razia Sultan, was an efficient military leader, and on more than one occasion by her intrepid behaviour in battle, completely shattered her foes. In the history of India it has frequently happened that the defence of

the state was upheld by women, and though their individual names are not known to fame, they proved the capacity of Eastern women to take a share, in case of need, in active warfare.

M. TURNER.

INTERVIEWER

BY BABU LAL SUD, B.A. BAR-AT-LAW.

INTERVIEWING originated with the American press, and it is in America that it is carried to extremes. The American press thinks that it has not only the right, but it is its duty to divulge in public what has been confided to it in private, and to exercise this, what it considers to be its right, it often violates the elementary principle of courtesy. The French press, too, which, of course, borrowed the art of interviewing from the Americans, does not hesitate to exercise this spirit of inquiry and espionage. But the English press, since the time the interview first came over from America, has not gone so far in this department of journalistic business as America and France, and has not misused it. In the early eighties when this interviewing business was imported from America into England, there used to be a tendency in some newspaper offices to interview celebrities of the ordinary sort, not because they could enlighten the public on a matter of some general and public importance, but simply because they were celebrities. Their birth, dress, tastes, such as smoking and drinking, the questions put and the answers given, etc., were chronicled by the interviewer in his paper. But all these have become things of the past now. Now only those men are interviewed by the London press who have got something good and new to say. They are interviewed by newspaper men who themselves are experts in the subjects to be discussed. Their private characteristics, such as smoking and drinking, are never mentioned in papers. Such replies as "I refuse to talk for publication," "I decline to answer," "I decline to discuss the matter," "I have nothing to say," etc., are not published. These things do not

interest the newspaper-reading public in England, though they do all right for the newspaper-reader in America. The plain truth is that these things were never of value in England, and were never counted much. On the contrary, it has always been considered downright bad taste and bad manners to give them out in papers. It is due to general indifference to these things on the part of the average newspaper-reader in England that accounts of interviews in London papers are more "full of meat", i.e., abounding in solid facts, than in papers across the Atlantic. There is not only more soul in them, but they are more lively, bright and sparkling than they are in American papers. The London press is more conscientious than the American press in this matter. It observes the principles of courtesy more scrupulously than the American press.

To an average reader, the name of the late Mr. W. T. Stead, of the "Pall Mall Gazette", and founder of the "Review of Reviews" is associated with the fearless exposure of social abuses culminating in "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" in 1885, for which he was prosecuted for criminal libel and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Those who want to know the whole story of how Mr. Stead came to be placed in the dock and arraigned for committing one of the very crimes against which he had secured the passage of an Act of Parliament for the protection of young girls can not do better than read "My Father" by Miss Estelle W. Stead, daughter of the late Mr. W. T. Stead and present editor of the "Review of Reviews". Enough to say here that "it was one of the greatest achievements which any journalist single-handed had ever accomplished in the

coercion of an unwilling legislature and a reluctant Ministry," in the words of Mr. Stead himself. But an ordinary reader of newspapers does not know that his name and fame are most intimately associated with one of the most remarkable phases in modern English journalism, viz., interviewing. It is he who, when editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette," introduced what is generally called the "personal note", which began with the interview, and the personal paragraph. He was the first English journalist to interview in the modern style a public man in England. We have it on the unimpeachable authority of Sir Wemyss Reid that Mr. W. E. Forster was the first public man in England who was interviewed, and that Mr. W. T. Stead was the first English journalist who interviewed him on his (Mr. Forster's) return from the East at the beginning of the eighties. "Mr. Forster," said Sir Wemyss Reid, "came to see me immediately after the interview appeared, and I reproached him for having countenanced such an abominable innovation from America. We had a long discussion, and in the end agreed, that, while the ordinary interview was not a thing to be encouraged, yet that the interview in which a man stated his views on some great topic of interest might be useful to the person interviewed and to the public generally, 'but,' said Forster, 'the interviewer must let you have a proof before it is published'." Mr. Forster was at the time generally blamed for granting the interview. Mr. Stead was a most persistent interviewer, and "the list of the captives of his bow and spear extends from the Czar to General Gordon" of Soudan fame.

When the interviewing first came in, it was a great novelty, and the London newspapers used to send anybody to interview anybody. Some years ago when Mr. Pierpont Morgan of America came to London, newspapers vied with one another to interview him. Now Mr. Pierpont Morgan is known to be one of those who never submit themselves to the interview. But there was also known to be an English journalist equally clever in interviewing celebrities, and he took upon himself the arduous task of interviewing him. He went to the hotel where Mr. Morgan was staying and sent in his card with the request that the business on which he was

anxious to see him was most important and would not brook delay. Mr. Morgan was quite familiar with this sort of trick on the part of newspaper interviewers, and sent back word that he too was awfully busy on a matter of equally extreme importance, and therefore could not see the interviewer, his one minute being worth a guinea to him. The interviewer sent back word by his secretary that he would be quite prepared to give him even three guineas for a minute's interview, for the matter was of extreme importance. Mr. Morgan gave in at this point, and the interviewer interviewed the millionaire. The three guineas which the interviewer gave to the interviewee was, of course, subscribed to a charitable institution. Now there was nothing in that interview which was of any special interest to the public. It was done because the interviewee was a great man. This kind of novelty has absolutely worn off now. The London papers do not trouble themselves to send their representative to interview a man simply because he is a great man in the eyes of the public, and they do not publish anything resulting from an interview until it is of some public interest. The craze for interviewing, so rampant in America, has in many European countries taken hold of the press to such an extent as to acclimatise itself there, but it has never taken root in England. Since the day it came into England, it has never hit the fancy of the Press and the public, which think, and rightly too, that if badly or spitefully done, it is a source of annoyance to the interviewee. Apart from this, an Englishman is, by nature, most reserved, and does not like the idea of anybody prying into his affairs. Statesmen and politicians in many European countries submit themselves with bland smile and naive resignation to the presence of certain newspaper interviewers. But in England no statesman worth the name tolerates the idea of unnecessary interview, and that is the reason that the newspaper men have very little access in Downing Street, while they easily get the access in official departments of some countries. For example, the status of the newspaper interviewer is so well recognised in America that there is a room specially set apart for the newspaper men in the White House Office, and it is so placed that every official as he leaves the President's room can be seen and approach-

ed and asked as to what he and other Ministers were talking about for the last two hours or so. The Ministers in America don't mind taking the newspaper men into their confidence, and giving them a brief resume, making it a condition that their names should not be used as the authority for the information. The point I wish to emphasize is that in America and some other countries, particularly in America, interviewing has gone so far that the newspaper interviewers do not hesitate to pounce upon Ministers coming out of their offices and asking them as to what they were doing and talking about, and ministers do not object to being interviewed. But in England interviewing has not reached that stage, and, I am sure, it will never come to that, I mean, when Ministers coming out of Downing Street will be easily approached and asked as to what they were discussing for such a long time. English people are not inclined in that way. It is a well-known fact that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Kitchener both had the reputation of being the most difficult personages to interview.

But when all this has been said and done, the fact remains that now-a-days the interview is common to the English press, and the modern journalist combines the writing of articles with the interviewing of celebrities which his predecessor regarded as something beneath the dignity of his calling. It was nearly two years ago that the editor of "Answers," London, a weekly paper of not much importance, sent his representative Mr. Hayden Talbot to America to interview Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the famous ex-President of the United States of America, and one of the most famous statesmen of world-wide reputation, to know his views on the war for readers of "Answers." When asked by the editor to go to America on the said mission, Mr. Hayden Talbot said to the editor, "Do you know what this is going to cost you?" "I don't care what it costs," answered the editor. "I want Roosevelt on the war, and I mean to get him. He's the one big personality in the world that the newspaper people have been unable to get talking on this side, and I'm sure my readers would like to read what he has got to say about the Germans." Mr. Hayden Talbot sailed for America by the first boat, and succeeded in interviewing Mr. Roosevelt at his "Out-

look" office in New York, for Mr. Roosevelt is at present on the editorial staff of the "Outlook." The result of his interview is being published in "Answers" in a series of articles, the first appeared in "Answers" dated October 14, 1916. This will show the reader that even to an ordinary London paper no expense is too great and no effort is too arduous to get an important news so long as it is satisfied that its readers would like to know that news. In the first week of October, 1916, Mr. Roy Howard, the president of the United Press Association of America, interviewed Mr. Lloyd George, the War Minister, "to define the British attitude towards the recent British talk, pointing out that America's attitude was that she was willing to initiate peace negotiations when all the belligerents were desirous of her intervention, and that in one or two quarters in America there was the feeling that an appropriate time for such mediation might be at the end of the autumn offensive," to quote the words of Mr. Roy Howard. Now this is a kind of interview of which Mr. Roy Howard and his paper would be justly proud, and it is an interview for which the world would be grateful to Mr. Lloyd George, for it would tend to undeceive such neutrals as were labouring under the erroneous impression that England was prepared for peace without bringing the Germans to their knees and without completely and finally crushing the Prussian militarism. This interview clearly proves to demonstration, if any proof were needed, that peace can only be brought about by completely crushing Prussian militarism, otherwise it would be a "patched-up, precarious and dishonouring compromise, masquerading under the name of peace," as Mr. Asquith so beautifully puts it.

Lately the London press has discovered another way of finding out the views and opinions of great men on important subjects of the day. Instead of sending their representative to a great man to interview him on some important subject they invite him to write for their paper on that important subject. This is decidedly a better way. In the case of interview, the views of the interviewee are expressed through the intermediary of the interviewer and are in some cases tainted with the personality of the latter. Cases are on record where the interviewee has

declained his views after these views were published in papers by the interviewer. But this cannot be said of the signed articles contributed by the great men on some important subjects of the day to a paper at the special request of the editor. There is no intermediary, and, therefore, they carry greater weight and authority with them as well as with the reader, who sometimes does not believe in all that the interviewer writes about the interviewee and his views on a particular subject. Since October 16, 1916, the "Star," for example, has been publishing the views of some important and authoritative men, such as Mr. J. G. Swift Macneill, K.C., M.P., Major General Sir Alfred Turner, K.C.B., Sir Robert Pearce M.P., pioneer of day-light saving, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, and others on the subject of "my changed opinions", i.e. pre-war opinions and opinions after the war broke out. But this has one serious disadvantage. The paper has to pay a lot for this kind of contributions. But the press has got over that monetary side of the question too. In many cases these signed articles by great men are only interviews after all. The whole thing is done in this way. The representative of the paper goes to the man whose opinion he wants on a particular subject for his paper, and after conversing with him for a few minutes on that subject, says to him, "I have fully understood your view of the question. Now if I were to write in the first person, as if you yourself had written it, will you do me the favour of signing it and letting it appear in my paper?" If the interviewee is a courteous and obliging man, he replies in the affirmative, with the result that the interviewer writes it hurriedly then and there and the interviewee signs it. And why should he not sign? He knows that the views are his views and not those of the interviewer. He knows that they are put in a better way than he could put them. He knows that if he were to write his views on the subject, it would mean a good deal of time, and even then they might not be written in such an interesting and pleasing way as the interviewer has written them in. And above all, perhaps the interviewee himself was anxious to let the public know his views on that subject, but in the midst of pressing work he could not get time to do so. And what about the paper? It means a saving of, say, fifty guineas, at

the lowest, to the paper. But this is not true in the case of really great men in the public eye such as Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Roosevelt, and other notable personages of their importance and greatness. They have no time for that kind of thing. If the press want to know their views on any important topical subject, the only chance is to try to interview them, and even that chance is rare! It is not the representative of every leading paper who can interview them. It is only sheer luck that the representative of one paper might bring off a "scoop" by interviewing a notable personage like Mr. Lloyd George, whereas others might fail.

It is very seldom that the Indian papers take the trouble of sending their representatives to interview celebrities on some important topical subjects. The reason is simple. People in general have a panicky view of interview, and, therefore, they object to being interviewed in the majority of cases. Neither the press nor the public think that the interview is a thing really useful in the interests of the public. They think it as something quite out of the common. The editor of the newspaper published in the north of India does not like to send a representative of his paper to the south of India to know the views of a great man in the public eye on a burning topic of the day. He—in fact, the proprietor—does not like to spend money on an enterprise like this, for two reasons; firstly, as said above, he does not think it would serve any useful purpose, and secondly, he is afraid the great man to be interviewed might not grant an interview, in which case it would be a sheer waste of money. But, let it be remembered, great feats in every walk of life, journalism included, are achieved by enterprises which do not prove successful at first. Take the case of the London press. It did not at first take a rosy view of interview, and did not think much of it. But it did not fail to try the experiment and spend money. And the result is that to-day we find the editor of "Answers" sending his representative to America to interview Mr. Roosevelt on the war. Now the editor of "Answers" was not sure whether the enterprise would be really successful. He thought it worth the candle, and there you are.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL GROUPING IN THE EAST AND THE WEST*

ARGUMENT.

Family as the foundation of social groups. The disintegration of the family in the West. Individual egoism forces social groups into distinct classes each with a bundle of exclusive interests to promote. Cultural or likeness-groups in the East. Difference between communal and interest-groups. Tendency to coercion among interest-groups. In the East group-action is social, not coercive.

Group-action in the East promoted the same ends as are achieved in the West by state-interference and activities.

Communalism, characteristic of China and India. China, whether monarchical or republican, is a great aggregate of democratic village communities. Village bodies and their functions. Inter-village treaties and alliances.

The Roman Family and the Chinese Family. The Indian Family.

The clan in China and India. The ancestral hall, and the village temple.

The development of the elaborate caste organisation characteristic of India.

The economics of the caste system. The formation of castes and sub-castes has often corresponded with an upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation. Illustrations from Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab.

Merchants' and artisans' guilds in China and India. The Panchayet of bankers and merchants in India.

Contrasted principles of social grouping in the East and West. In the West social grouping is determined by the instincts of appropriation and aggression; in the East it is the outcome of a *vital clan* in the direction of natural and human relationships.

The contribution of communalism to culture and civilisation.

THE fundamental unit of civilised society is not the individual but the family.

Without the family no other social groups are possible. The family leads the individual out of his seclusion, deprives him of his egoistic selfishness and lifts him to a more elevated selfishness in order that he can enjoy a higher life with his fellow individuals. In the family relation a man first of all learns to live for others. Without this discipline higher social relations are impossible. It is for this reason that the disintegration of the family is a menace to social existence. The family is the foundation of society; its disintegration threatens the foundations of social

life. The individual by himself cannot act effectively in civilised society. The individual by himself cannot enjoy effectively the fruits of civilisation.

Social progress finds man in many social groups. Each of these groups moulds and re-shapes a man. It expresses and develops a particular phase of a man's personality.

But the foundation of them all is the family, which is at once the unit of activity and the unity of enjoyment, which supplies as it were the link of all social relationships.

In the West this link is being snapped asunder on account of the disintegration of the family. The industrial and social conditions, the laxity of marriage laws and the frequency of divorce have all contributed to that.

When the uniting and disciplinary forces are weakened, individuals are a prey to passions, the caravan spirit. The family has been the centrifugal force, the passions are the centripetal forces which now become dominant.

When the family which is the bond of social co-operation is destroyed, individual egoism forces social groups into distinct classes, not cultural or likeness-groups, but each with a bundle of exclusive interests to defend. Each individual finds that his self-interest is made effective by the formation of special groups to promote it. If these latter had an unchecked play, the whole society would be rent asunder by the conflict of antagonistic groups.

That is the contrast between labour organisations, tradesunions, employers' associations, landlords' associations and so forth and the caste, the tribe, religious brotherhood or the church and Samaj. Trades unions or employers' guilds do not represent the mass of human interests as are embodied in such institutions as the family or the church. The family and the church are therefore communal, properly representative of society as a whole and not of sectional interests and well-being.

In the West each social group focusses

* A lecture delivered under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, M.A., C.S.I., at the University of the Punjab.

the interests of a particular class so effectively and presents the strength of numbers in such a force that it is apt to act as a coercive authority. In India, out of each group, an ethical standard, an element of public opinion comes, which rises into a principle which society cannot oppose. That is the difference between the coercion of Marx and the coercion exercised by the caste, the *gotra*, the tribe, the samaj, and the religious association in India.

The disintegration of the family in the West has strengthened and is strengthened by the forces and feelings of the individual egoism of man in the state of nature which delights in mutual warfare, war against society, and war against himself. This has warped the other social groups from their natural lines of development. Carried to excesses and accelerated as they are apt to be, they become coercive agents for carrying out exclusive interests antagonistic to social welfare. Nowhere is coercion more marked than in industrial conflicts, though politics is also becoming too much a wrangle for power of party-groups which force their judgment upon the whole community.

The present machinery of settling labour disputes in the West is unworkable because each industrial group carries such a load of dogmatism, develops such a strong ante-social group-opinion and adopts methods so coercive on the rest of the community.

In the East group action is social; social progress is evolved through the co-operation of the social groups. This is what I term communalism. If this free development were possible and monopolistic or theocratic tendencies were not to come into play, there would be no outside control of one group by another. If there be conflict of groups, the individual would form his judgment independently on moral grounds and would not be coerced by any group, be it the trade or industrial organisation, the family, or even the state itself.

In the West one group tends to coerce another, and all coerce society. This implies that the natural evolution of society is checked. This again implies revolutions. Group opinion is thus apt to be dogmatic and ante-social and group-action is revolutionary in the West.

The East does not know of compulsory

education, or compulsory military training. Communalism secures the same results without the adoption of the coercive methods of the West. Among the Dwijas, viz., the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, in other words among the members of the personality-social class, higher education was universal under the unwritten social and ethical code; while every boy or girl of the village would receive the elements of primary education in the village monastery or temple supported by the whole community. Thus group-action under favourable circumstances contributed to the same fitness as is sought to be achieved in the West by state activities and functions. Neither state-socialism with its dogmatic suppression of group-opinion nor anarchism impatient of group-control really belongs to the East. Throughout the east group-interests correspond to public welfare. It is through group-cooperation that social progress is achieved. It is this success which makes opinion conservative and activity traditional. Thus communalism characterises the oldest and most conservative nations in the world now living, China and India.

The haughty imperialist, the rapacious millionaire, or the uncompromising labour-leader are the wildest of revolutionaries. Earth-hunger, wealth-hunger, and food-hunger are each born of a social order where failure has embittered the social tone and destroyed social restraints.

Communalism implies an internal success which uproots dogmatism and revolutionary ideas. In communalism group-opinion and group-action are essentially social and co-operative.

In China, as in India, the internal administration of the country is managed entirely by voluntary associations which co-operate with one another. Like India, China is a huge republic within which are myriads of petty republics. Like the Indian village community, the Chinese village has perfect freedom of industry and trade, of religion and everything that concerns the government, regulation and protection of the locality. The central Government plays but an insignificantly small part in the village life. Police, education, public health, public repairs of roads and canals, lighting and innumerable other functions are managed by the villagers themselves through

voluntary associations. In fulfilling such a gigantic network of duties a village inevitably comes in contact with other villages, sometimes in friendly and occasionally very hostile relations. Thus a sort of inter-village commercial treaties arises between, and aggressive and defensive alliances are entered into by a considerable group of villages.

China, whether monarchical or republican in form, is but a great aggregate of democratic communities ordering their affairs peacefully and happily in the main, through the government of the heads of families.*

As in India, the family is the fundamental unit of society in China.

In its economic aspect the family both in China and India is not much unlike the monastic system of Christianity, in which any one's earnings are for the good of all. So a sort of socialism is practised within the family, while at the same time the system does not sacrifice the individual.

Unlike the Roman family, all the minor members of the Chinese family are persons and not chattels, whose rights and duties are well defined. It is sometimes said that this family system drags down the individual from self-development. This is to judge the working of the Eastern system by the logic of social evolution of the West. With us self-development is by no means sacrificed for the good of the family. Confucius says, "A well-regulated family is made possible only by the self-culture of the individuals comprising it." The communal family has its serious abuses as well when it falls off from the above ideal of Confucius as has been the case in the history of China where the suppression of the legitimate individuality of a family member has been the outcome of the opposing principle of communalism carried to excess. Thus the family in China is collectively and directly responsible for the crimes of each member. No such obliteration of individualism is seen in the Indian family. Within the Indian family, there has been great development towards individualism. This may be attributed to the Buddhist movement with

its emphasis of individual ethics which resulted in the emphasis of individual property rights to a great extent.

The clan both in India and China represents one step in advance towards a larger unit in society than the family. The clan is a gathering of families. Throughout China and Northern India villages are still called after the name of the clan inhabiting them. In China the members of the whole clan usually have a common ancestral temple; otherwise they have a common ancestral temple where only very remote ancestors are worshipped, while each family has its own temple of ancestors pertaining to its own branch.

Within a clan the different families may be rich or poor, but as a rule the families are better off collectively to relieve the poor families of the same clan. The clan may jointly possess property, the income from which covers the expenses of ancestral worship and the repair of graveyards.

Another centre of Chinese village life is the village temple which is the common centre of social life for all villagers irrespective of their clans. The inter-village treaties and alliances are all entered into by the various temples. The village elders who are at the same time officers of the temple and the chi-yuen are the connecting links, in some cases, extremely weak indeed, between the village and central government. The village temple provides for the proper police of the village. It is in charge of lighting, it repairs roads, canals and landing places, furnishes adequate defence works, &c. It also supplies free schooling to the village children when it is either not carried out or inadequately supplied by the different ancestral halls. It also supplies free doctoring, medicine and burial and such like relief works.

From the point of view of local government it is an institution full of potentialities in the future. The sources of its income are

(1) Like the ancestral hall it owns agricultural lands which are let out to the villagers, irrespective of their clan.

(2) The market of the village held in its front is also a source of income.

(3) The temple itself is a source of considerable income.

There are three classes of Land-holders, in China : (1) The village temple, (2) The ancestral halls, (3) Private individuals.

* For the following account of Chinese communal bodies and village organisations I am indebted to the monograph on Town and Village Life in China published by the London School of Economics.

The proportion belonging to each element varies. In general the larger proportion is owned by private individuals, while the land belonging to the temple and ancestral halls is invariably let to those who possess none of their own.

So far both the clan system and the village organisation have withstood the growth of towns.

In India the common temple of the Chinese which symbolises the co-operative unity not merely of religious but social and economic activity of the community has not been seen. But the development of the elaborate caste organisation is characteristic of India. The caste is the trade-guild which protects the standard of work as well as the standard of life and comfort of the artisans. The caste lays down strict rules of industry and trade. It serves the functions of a Benefit Society, or an accident or insurance association, and gives old age pensions. Sub-castes as well have important socio-economic significance. I have elsewhere shown that the formation of castes has often corresponded with an upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation. As artisans and traders rise in the economic scale, in every step in the rise there is a ramification of the caste into groups, marking an ascent in the social ladder.

In some cases the adoption of a degrading occupation by certain families has spelt social disaster for that section and though still retaining the caste name they are compelled to marry amongst themselves and thus form a sub-caste.

In other instances the converse is the case and a group that abandons a disreputable occupation or commands social respect by the adoption of the customs (and restrictions) of higher castes, itself attains in time to a higher social grade.

Thus we find in Bombay the upper section of Nadors looked down upon because they commenced making salt, the *Rangari* or dyeing division of *Shimpis* and the *Halde Males* who prepare turmeric-halad.

On the other hand, comes the shining example of the Chandlagar, Chilara, and Rasonia sub-castes of Mochis who gave up leather work and took to making spangles, painting and electroplating. As a result they are treated like reputable

artisans and do not touch their brother muchis.

In the Punjab the Desi *Kumhars* rarely engage in making earthen vessels; although this seems to be the original trade of the tribe, they look down upon it and take to it only in extremity. They have a higher status than their fellows from Jodhpur who still work in clay. Many of them who have no land of their own engage in agricultural labour rather than in potter's work. Similarly the *Suthars* who are almost exclusively devoted to agriculture, look down upon the trade of the carpenter which they follow only when in poor circumstances. They keep aloof from the *Khati* or carpenter who works in wood.

It is especially characteristic how many of the lower castes have taken to agriculture and despise their former occupation, and separate themselves from those who still follow it.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of the upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation is to be seen among the workers in cloth and tanned leather who rank higher than makers of the raw materials. All the tribes, Chamar, Bhambi, Meghwal, Dhed, Julaha, Paoli, Mochi, engaged in weaving coarse cloth and working in tanned leather are originally the same race, or at all events closely connected, and perhaps of aboriginal descent. The Chamars are divided into several distinct sections which will not intermarry with each other. The *Chandor* chamars will not associate with the Jatiya chamars who (they say) work in leather made from camel's and horse's skins which is an abomination to the former. On the other hand, the Marwari chamars settled at Delhi who make trips in the Punjab in the cold weather selling leather ropes in the villages, refuse to have any connection with the local chamars who (they say) tan leather and eat the flesh of animals that have died. While these Marwari chamars work only in leather already tanned.

The stationary village Lohars look down upon itinerant Gadiya Lohars who have no fixed home, but go about from village to village in carts (gadi) carrying their families and implements with them. Similarly the wandering musicians and actors rank low because of their nomadic life, and also because their women often

dance or act and sometimes prostitute themselves.

The washerman ranks low because he handles the dirty clothes of other people. The hunters are looked down upon because of their uncertain jungle life. The Dhanaks who occupy a low position on account of their dirty work yet consider themselves superior to the Churas, because, although they sweep up and carry away everything else, they do not like the Churas clean up night soil.

Many of these classes to some extent merge in each other, but when a better economic position or a less degraded work gives a clear superiority in status, the higher sub-group ceases to consort with the lower in smoking, eating and marrying, and gradually by an inevitable course of development is differentiated into a new caste. In the West men who attain success in industry occupy a higher social position which wealth gives or are rewarded with titles of distinction. Here not individuals but individuals formed into groups when they rise in the economic scale, reward themselves with a higher status and society has got to recognise it.

In China there is the artisan's guild which resembles the Indian artisan's caste in many ways but this has not reached a high degree of complex development as the caste organisation represents in India. Still the workers, both masters and apprentices form a multitude of small groups, each in their own locality. They protect the standard of work. They meet very seldom, except once or twice in the new-year season when entertainments are arranged for all artisans belonging to the guild.

In China as well as in India there is also the merchant's guild. Traders have their own guilds. The morals of the trade are strictly observed. Members violating the regulations are expelled from the guild. The Chinese merchants are middlemen, pure and simple, their profit is generally very limited, unlike that of capitalists who possess both the machine of production and exchange. It is the collectivity and solidarity of these trade guilds that answer for the stability of the Chinese market and hence for social peace. They check the immoral competition which would in the long run ruin the people and also the competitors.

It is characteristic that though the East has not proposed to itself the ideal of mere

mechanical efficiency, she has shown a remarkable skill in the management of the affairs of men. The advanced methods of science and the scientific organisation of industry have led in the West to an enormous increase of efficiency in production, but vital values have been sacrificed and the organisation of social groups has exhibited marked defects in certain important directions. In politics and in industry, fitness and efficiency have been pursued to the detriment of some of the fundamental and elemental values of life. In the East the increase of efficiency, industrial and political, has been circumscribed by the restricted natural and social needs suited to the peculiar natural and historical environment. Race Psychology has led to a greater emphasis on the satisfaction of the few primary needs than on comforts and luxuries (which multiply beyond limits in the West), and of the intellectual and spiritual needs, which have been relegated to the background in the West. The historical conditions have favoured the development of petty republics characterised by a high degree of local autonomy and unarrested growth rather than the organisation of a central governing power. Not wedded to the ideal of mere efficiency, fitness, and quantity the East has found scope for the unarrested increase of the complex values of life, has sought quality more than quantity, and well-being more than mechanical efficiency and by the emphasis of natural relationships based on primary needs 'and instincts, rather than contractual ones, has built up a social fabric where progress is achieved by spontaneous group-action and not by state-control and state-interference. In her social organisation the mother East has been guided by her natural instinct which is itself the wisdom of nature, by her strong human sympathies, and her communistic and collectivistic sense which have welded autonomous individuals and social groups into a harmonious co-operation for the common realisation of the ends of society, ends which are quite in keeping with those of Universal Humanity. Rousseau's famous diatribe of civilisation that man was born free and is now everywhere in chains, is becoming more and more true of the West, where society in the pursuit of a mechanical ideal of efficiency is ignoring the true interests of organic efficiency and culture,

and for that end is stretching its limbs like those of an octopus into those domains of the private personal life within which the individual is rightful sovereign for the imperative need and inalienable right of self-realisation. Social grouping in the West has been determined almost entirely by the instincts of appropriation and aggression, manifested in the form of a yearning after productivity and exploitation. In this social scheme the concrete personality has been relegated to the background, and only a fragment has been hypostatized as the true individual. In the East social grouping has been the outcome of a *vital elan* in the direction of natural and human relationships. Consequently social grouping or stratification in the East always tends to ensure the satisfaction of the totality of human interests that constitute the personality. In industrial and political business which is really the management of the affairs of men, the handling of machines, industrial or political, does not mean the same as the handling of living personalities, individuals or groups. Trusts and cartels, federations and empires may imply a high degree of efficiency, but as industrial machines produce monotony

of work and life, and hamper the originality of creative genius, they govern whole societies under the steam-roller of dead routine and uniformity, and, in the pursuit of economic and administrative efficiency, destroy the conditions for the free realisation of the totality of needs and interests of individual and social units. The communalism of the East, has achieved efficiency in its own way and in adaptation to the simple but total needs of individual and social life, suited to the environment; it has secured economy and justice by a healthy and diffused distribution of wealth and population, of work and leisure in a well-organised and efficient system of agriculture, arts and crafts; through decentralisation in administration, it has developed the autonomy of local bodies and assemblies to an extent unknown in the West; and by its emphasis of the primary values of life, of human instincts and sympathies, of a social and humanistic valuation, it stands for all that is noble in enjoyment, art and religion, in other words, for true culture instead of the bare materialistic and mechanical ideal which has given a wrong trend to the civilisation of the West.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

MICA AND ITS INDUSTRY

MICA may be mentioned as one of the various kinds of minerals which have been more or less known from a long time, but whose utility had not been so far taken much advantage of. Although, it is being used for various purposes for long ages, it is within the last twenty years that its uses have been greatly recognised by the civilised world. In fact, it has suffered the lot of a much neglected substance, which is likely to play a very great part in the future industry and trade of the commercial and industrial world.

The name mica is probably derived from Latin *Mico*—flash, *Micare*—to glitter, to shine, and in some form or other its glittering, shining and transparent properties are expressed by its names in various languages of the world.

There is some confusion between the use of the word Talc for the minerals that come under the term Mica. The word talc seems to have an Arabic origin. The German word Glimmer—to shine (*Der Glimmer*=Mica), the Urdu word Abr and the sanskrit word Abhra cloud, etc., convey the same meanings and ideas.

The Hindu classical story is that Indra in order to kill Britasura produced the thunderbolts (Vajra). This Vajra scattered all round the sky while the sparks which fell on mountains below took the forms of mica. The folklore still goes that with the thunderings in heaven micas are born or are deposited on the earth's crust. Another folklore goes that clouds taking the shapes of elephants eat sal leaves and while doing so the saliva that drops out of their mouth fall to the earth as

mica. The word tale seems to be reserved by mineralogists for advantage's sake or for technical consideration for some other meaning and the word mica is now generally used for all purposes.

Mica is the name given to an important group of rock-forming minerals and is characterised by the perfect cleavage in one direction—along the base—and laminae which may be made very thin by a process of continued separation. Mica being the most delicate among the rock-forming substances suffers great deformation due to crust disturbances of the earth. As commercially valuable mica should be mica crystals without flaw and of a certain size and which can only be obtained from particular places unaffected and unaltered by earth and crust movements, hence is the scarcity of a very widespread area of ground of production.

Thus on account of nature's restrictions the mica supplies of the world are limited. Fortunate is the country which possesses the greatest store of these minerals, for it will have the advantage and opportunity of monopolising and controlling the world's trade of commercial mica.

Mica is found in India, Tibet, Central Asia, regions near Lake Baikal, China, Siberia, Scandinavia, Wales, Canada, U.S.A., Brazil, Peru and the region formerly known as German East Africa. Of all the countries in the world mica is commercially worked in India and America mostly, and these two countries practically supply the world's market. Mica was well-known in prehistoric America, traces of its use being widespread. In Quebec, Ontario, etc., in Canada, the supply is of excellent quality and it is easily mined and hence cheap.

India is fortunate enough to possess certain areas of very good and rich deposits of mica. Almost all the presidencies of India possess more or less mica bearing tracts. The principal of these are :

1. Gaya, Hazaribagh and Monghyr districts in Behar and Orissa.
2. Nellore district in Madras Presidency.
3. Ajmere in Rajputana, Central India. These are the places where mica industry and mica mining are carried out on an extensive commercial scale. In fact the greater portion of the world's supply of mica is sent out from these districts. It may be said that India gives the world one-half

and Canada and the United States together make up the other half. Europe has no commercial supply whatsoever. Europe however takes no share in producing but is the biggest buyer and consumer of this mineral.

The micas vary greatly in chemical composition and also sometimes in physical properties. But all micas however has this striking permanent characteristic that they can be split in thinnest films along the base. Attempts have been made to explain the variations in their compositions by scientists but they all seemed to have agreed to differ.

The micas are silicates and are divided into two main groups—Alkali and Ferromagnesium micas. Micas may be defined as silicates of aluminium with other bases as iron, calcium, magnesium, potassium, sodium, lithium, fluorine, etc. The chief four species of mica are :

1. Muscovite, the commonest, is a silicate of potassium and aluminium. It is seldom colourless but generally brownish or greenish. It is light-coloured and has pearly and metallic lustre.

2. Biotite, commonly called magnesium iron mica and marked by its darker tints of either black or dark green.

3. Lepidolite is a lithium mica with fluorine, potassium and aluminium as its constituents. It has a rose-red or lilac tint.

4. Phlogopite is a biotite of reddish brown ; sometimes yellow or greenish.

Mica is generally found in the veins or along stratas and deposits of granite, felspar, quartz, limestone, etc. The micas enter into the composition of crystalline as well as sedimentary rocks. They are often mixed with crystallised minerals such as tourmaline, garnet and sometime also kaolin. Deposits are most frequently found in dikes of intergrowths of quartz, felspar, etc., and mica is scattered through the dikes or veins as they are called by miners. Deposits vary in thicknesses from a few inches to hundreds of feet. Almost everywhere the veins start near the surface and therefore mining is simple and prospecting operations easy and inexpensive.

The colours of mica, as will be seen from above, vary according to their different compositions. They are silver white, black, brown, smoky brown, green, yellow, amber, red and ruby. Those containing iron or magnesium are generally of deeper

colour. The inclusion of different proportions of hydrogen or water or some other minerals alter the colour, lustre and consistency. The Hindu writers and authorities knew of four kinds of mica and the colour of each was assigned to one of the four great castes of the Hindus.

The classification was ingenious and probably time-serving—

1. The Brahman was white and transparent.

2. The Kshatriya was red.

3. The Vaisya was yellow.

4. The Sudra was dark tinted, black and opaque.

A good piece of commercial mica should be medium hard and elastic. Crystals or Books of mica as they are technically called have their value in large sheets in which form they can be mined out. The largest books sometimes measure even up to 10 to 15 feet sides and a good few inches thick, while usually a book of an area of say one square foot should be considered as a good piece.

Mica mining operations have been carried out in India from ages and centuries ago, but there seems to be no history coming down to us to ascertain the period as to when such works were first started for all practical purposes of commerce and industry. From various accounts we come to know that mica mining and the processes of its industry as have been carried out in India, have been a huge wasteful system in the past. Even as far as two decades back the same system had continued. The old system of working mica was simply a process of digging and picking out the minerals in the easiest way possible. The people engaged in conducting the same had a crude knowledge of things, and an unsystematic way of 'safe and quick return of labour and money invested' was the dominant spirit and idea. The result was a systematic waste of this mineral which has now been considered as one of the most useful minerals which can probably never be suitably substituted. There are also fears in some quarters of its sudden exhaustion.

Although geologists and best trained foreign mining engineers consider that a systematic scientific mining process for successfully working mica mines should and could be resorted to, the practical experience of the people concerned and connected with this particular work show that

nothing very scientific can be applied for improving the present affairs to a very great magnitude. Although large sums of money have been spent for experiments, the actual processes of mining operations—apart from mechanical and other minor contrivances and arrangements and general system of non-wasteful work—have not much differed or improved from the past. In fact experts in mica-mining say that there is not much new to be learnt or applied unless the whole system somehow or other is completely changed and revolutionised. In due course however some such system must be forthcoming. It is never too late for inventions.

In mica-bearing areas pegmatite or mica-bearing veins—if we can say so—are easily detected. Sometimes there are outcrops of mica on the very surfaces of the grounds or generally crests or slopes of hillocks. In former times when mica mining had not become industrially popular, the local tribes, hillmen or agriculturists, a whole family of them, the youngsters accompanying, would go up a known place of mica-bearing area with a few picks and baskets. They knew the natural signs of the soil and would begin digging a place and following the crop or vein of mica in whatever direction it would go in worm-like, tortuous holes, which would sometimes extend to a depth of 20 feet. They would simply bring out the cuttings and diggings, stone, mica and all, sort out the serviceable micas, bring them home and use them themselves for some purpose or other or sell them to persons interested for paltry sums. On another occasion they would again go to another place and soon they would cover all the near areas with holes and pits all over the place and thus denude and damage the nearest available mica deposits in that locality. Such methods of working, and exploiting, or rather devastating, mica lands had continued till a quarter of a century back.

In the good old days two systems of mining were followed—

(1) Quarries and open pit system.

(2) Following the mica vein crystal to crystal in whatever direction it would lead.

Even nowadays both these systems have been adhered to. These however have now been supplemented by other systems of works, such as, vertical shafts, air and

ventilation shafts, etc. The unspacious and unhealthy holes of the former system have been greatly improved. Mines which now go underground to the depths of 200 to 300 ft. are receiving special attention both of the owners and of the law-makers of the land. Those deep mines which have struck rich deposits are yielding good crops and hence people and parties concerned in the profits and working, naturally pay more attention for safety and security both of life and property. Various laws and regulations, which are the outcome of serious ventures in proper business ways, are being applied to systematise the whole works in all its branches and systems.

The mining implements are simple and easily obtainable. Pick-axes, spades, crow-bars, chisels, sledge hammers, baskets, brickets, tawas, are more or less all that are practically necessary for an ordinary mining operation. These entail an outlay of very small capital. For more systematic works of larger concerns use of dynamite and other explosives, hand and steam pumps, pulleys etc. are the necessary accessories.

To follow a day's work in a mica mine in Behar may be interesting reading. At about 8 o'clock in the morning streams of people, men, women and juveniles are seen walking through lonely places of forests over beaten tracks, fording rivulets, crossing over hills and dales and going towards the mining centres and pits, which are generally in out of the way places in uninhabited areas and uncultivated lands over hill crests or slopes or valleys. The labourers carry with them all the necessary implements required for the day's work. They mostly carry their food with them for the midday meals and sometimes they have to carry even their own supply of drinking water. Mine labourers and the youngsters among them have been seen to walk a distance of 8 to 10 miles to go to their works every morning and to come back home the same evening after putting in 8 to 10 hours' work. This they do day after day and in all weather and seasons. Mine works generally begin from 9 in the mornings. The labourers having all assembled at the pit heads the roll is called, attendance is registered and parties or gangs of workers are formed and, headed by their mate or chief, are sent to various pits or places either for regular mining or for

prospecting work. Mining may be carried on with or without explosives.

In pits where mining proper is carried on, the man in charge of the mines technically known as "competent person" goes in first and sees that the pit sloping, barricades, the scaffoldings, the inside walls and projections, the wooden props, etc., are all intact and safe. He then allows the workers to go in. The work of women and children begins first. The water that has accumulated through percolation or springs overnight and the heaps of rock, mica, etc., that have remained in the pits after the blasting which was the last operation of the previous day have respectively to be bailed out and cleaned out by a chain of women and juveniles with buckets, pitchers, baskets, etc. The men or miners then begin their work with pick, hammer, chisel, etc., and if blasting operations are needed, the blasting holes are made and stuffed with explosives and fuses. For blasting work the pit is immediately vacated after the fuse has been fired and then after the explosion and the lapse of some time for the smoke to clear out the work of sorting out serviceable micas, if any, are obtained and that of the clearing of broken rocks by women and children is again done.

If elaborate machineries are employed the pumping operations are done with either hand or machine pumps and the loads brought up by means of pulleys or some such mechanical contrivance. After every operation of blasting, the props, the inside walls, the openings of pits, etc., are carefully looked to and necessities fixed up. This cycle of similar operations goes on again and again. Mine work is generally stopped before dusk. In day time however all deep pits require lighting arrangements and small oil torches or candles are used. Actual mining work having ceased in the evening, the day's findings of mica are brought up and collected together in heaps on the top of each pit. The sortings are then made, the serviceable micas are made up in bundles and the scraps and unnecessary pieces thrown away in heaps, somewhere near the mines or dumped, as they say. The bundles are made in weights of 15 to 20 seers and bound up with cordlike barks of creepers plentiful in the bushes. The day's work being finished the labourers accompanied by headmen and watchmen proceed to the

nearest godown or store and make over the day's findings of mica, implements, tools and all. At this stage they have even to submit to personal searchings for stolen mica or any other things. Some mining concerns have day and night works and for continuity of work two and sometimes three sets of hands are employed. Projects are in view for electric illumination of mines and use of push trams.

The labourers in mica mines, specially in Behar, are generally drawn from the natives of the localities. Almost all sorts of castes, from high to low, and of different professions are represented among the workmen. But almost all are tillers of land and depend a great deal on the amount of agriculture they can do along with their works in mica mines or mica factories. Sometimes all the members of the family are seen to work in mines or factories. In some places there is imported labour from other divisions or subdivisions and rarely from other provinces. But it is a noteworthy fact that people living in mica mine areas are more or less connected in some way or other with mica and its industry. For ordinary labour the juveniles earn about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2as, women 2as. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ as. and men 3 to 5 as. a day. Weekly and fortnightly payments are made.

Labour is generally fairly regular and supply adequate. But during paddy or other important sowing and harvest seasons workmen invariably stay away from their works and some difficulty is always then felt. Prospectings are generally done during the rainy season when the ground is wet and easy for digging and when surface washings show up the outcrops. Winter months are also favourable for the purpose. During prospecting periods and rainy seasons there is generally some slackness in the regular mining work for reasons of labour and other technical considerations. Old works are renewed with full vigour and new works start during the dry days following rainy months.

For the last twenty years or so, mica-

mining has received the attention of the Government and mining rules, regulations, prospecting lease terms, etc., have been drawn up and fixed. Nowadays there are supposed to be regular inspections of mica mines by special Government mining inspectors and officers. The mining departments of the Government control all the mica mines as regards their safe workings, non-wastage and so on. All the details of work of the year, such as number of hands engaged, total raisings of mica and its approximate value, cases of accidents, health of workers, etc., are to be reported to the Government by all owners of mines.

Mica fields are worked on lease and share systems. Government lands are also let out on lease. Zemindars and landlords who own mica bearing lands make a very good profit by leasing out the rights to work and exploit mica. Fancy prices are often demanded for rich plots of land. To give an example: An area of about 500 square miles would bring a rent of about Rupees 25,000 a year plus a handsome *salami*. A few acres of mica bearing land would fetch as rent Rupees 1,000 a year.

Within the last decade or so there have been many enterprisers in the field of mica mining industry. Mica has however its sad failures too like all other mining. But considering the outlay in capital the results generally obtained have been marvellous. But the old system of small capital and quick return will not and cannot continue to have its advantage for time unlimited. A change must come and it has come. With the recognition of mica by the civilized world there has been a steady and increased demand. In these days of competition and industrialism, honest workers and parties, judicious systems of working a mica mine area, efficient management and expert and specialised knowledge are essentially necessary for profitably working mica mines and concerns.

ANANDAPROKASH GHOSE.

EVERLASTING PEACE A MEDITATION

BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE.

"Everlasting peace belongs only to those serene and saintly men, who find God in their innermost being."

CAN any one ever wish that the innermost Beloved should turn away, or that we ourselves should remain at a distance from Him? Can any one ever desire to dwell apart from the Giver of life and wisdom, the Closest of Friends? Even though a man's soul be steeped in sin, it can hardly be so dead as to wish to dwell apart from God. The longing for God cannot utterly be extinguished.

The man who shrinks before the great dread within, can never banish from his secret heart the sound of these words,—
"Whither will you flee; from whence will you get deliverance? Deprived of His shelter, with whom will you take refuge?"

If you are afraid because of your sin, then all the more eagerly take shelter with Him, and long to gain freedom from sin's bondage. If you go to the mountain caves, the lonely forests, or the wide sea, you cannot escape from God. Nay, only as you take refuge with God, can you escape from the terror that dwells within.

Therefore, when you have sinned, do not seek to flee from Him, but all the more pray to Him with longing of heart and sorrow of spirit. Say to Him,—
"I have made myself vile in Thy sight, but do thou accept me. I have plunged into the darkness, but do Thou, O Light of lights, lead me from darkness to light. Give me punishment to the full, I am ready to bear it, if only I may be freed from the snares of sin and know once again the joy of Thy Presence."

Surely, if we come to Him thus, with real longing and sorrow, He will shower His love upon us and heal with tenderness our troubled spirit.

There are those who sin and do not take shelter with God, glozing their conscience with the lie that God and immortality are things of nought. These men give place in their hearts to a thousand en-

tangling doubts. Their innermost soul does not wish to declare that God is not, and yet they wish to remain blind. They see that God is watching the evil and the good, and yet they wish to remain blind. They have fear in their hearts, and yet they will not fear God. The Father of all is calling them, but they remain deaf to that call.

If we shrink back from God in fear of His punishments, then let us know that all His stripes are healing to the soul. Taking shelter with Him we shall get freedom from all sorrow and release from all fear. Our spirits will once more become enlightened with the light of His truth, attracted by His revelation, and indwelt by His holy love.

When the hour of death draws near and we are called upon to enter God's presence, what will our thoughts be then?

Some will think, "At one time I had set out upon a wayward path, far away from God and without hope. Then God took pity on me, and I have again come back to Him."

Another will think, "My burden of sorrow and pain has become unbearable. Where is my path leading me? I have taken no pains to see where my life was going. When I could have gone on the right path I turned away in contempt. God warned me again and again, but I gave no heed to His warning."

Think not that the hour of death is far distant. Nothing is sure. Think not that we may now enjoy the pleasures of the senses, but when old age comes we can then give ourselves to works of piety and contemplate God. The demons of evil only require time to become strong.

Do not trifle with the thought, that, because to-day we can safely overcome some perverse desire, therefore to-day we may safely indulge. The very thought makes it clear that the temptation has already begun to gain the mastery. Can any one, who hates impurity, remain indifferent in the midst of impurity? Let

the man, who longs to be free from sin and to make vanquished right again triumphant, stand even now in God's presence and shed before Him true tears of repentance.

Then the attractiveness of sin will disappear, and the pangs of sorrow will be quenched. Then he will be full of deep remorse, that at one time he was away from God. He will feel how empty life was, and how impure, when he was not near to God. He will have learnt that only those wise men, who in their own souls can find His presence, have a real and lasting peace.

As the scripture says,—“Only those wise men have everlasting happiness who in their own spirits see a witness to Him, who is the only Lord of the inner soul of all beings, and who creates the many from the one. Others can never get such happiness.”

And again another scripture says,—“Only those wise men have everlasting peace, who see in their own spirits a witness to Him, who amidst all change is the only Eternal, the Creator of the consciousness of all conscious beings, supplying the needs of all. Others can never get such peace.”

The scripture speaks of God's witness in the innermost spirit. There is indeed a

true witness to God, outside us, even in this outward ray of light, but that is, in a sense, distant. There is a true witness to Him even in this temple, but He is closer still to us than that. He has His dwelling place in our innermost soul.

Our body is His temple, His inner shrine. He is our own sole wealth,—not only ours, as those things are ours, which belongs to all alike, such as the wind, the rain, the light of the sun,—but ours in intimate, innermost relations. He is the indwelling God of each man's body, the household God of everyone of us. Just as we say ‘my father,’ ‘my mother,’ ‘my brother,’ ‘my sister,’ speaking of them all as mine, so God also is ‘my God,’ the God of my heart.

The scripture says,—“Whoso makes separation, even in the least degree, him fear seizes.” When I feel God's presence in my own soul, then, with Him as my Companion, I become fearless.

Wonderful indeed is the truth that everywhere, within and without, I find His presence! When I open my eyes, I see Him all around and about me. When I close my eyes, I see His self-revealing image full of majesty within my heart.

“Everlasting peace belongs only to those serene and saintly men, who find God in their innermost being.”

THE SEMAS

THEIR DWELLING PLACE.

THE Semas call themselves Ashimis and their tongue is rather akin to that of the Angamis. They generally inhabit the Doyang, the Tizu and the Tita Valleys.

THEIR ORIGIN.

There are a number of traditions as to their origin. One amongst these is to the effect that they came from the Jalu Hills. Another current tradition ascribes the genesis of their race to a beautiful myth, which shortly runs thus :

The primeval mother gave birth to a man, a demon and a tiger. The former two were solicitous enough for her welfare but the tiger was much bent on preying upon

his plump mother—a nice idea, which he would have early carried out into action but for his wicked brothers, the man and the demon. Thus when they would go out into the field leaving the tiger in charge of their mother, he would often threaten the old creature. Such a continual tiger-terror began to sicken and emaciate the mother and the man and the demon having got a scent of what was going on and understanding that their dear mother must soon die, compelled him to hand over the charge of the mother to them and deputed him to the fields.

But alas! the poor mother did not survive; and they fearing some mischief might be wrought on the dead body by their peerless brother, hid it under the

hearth. Having returned home the tiger angrily asked them as to the whereabouts of the mother. The man and the demon pointed to the forest and off he went towards that direction in quest of the mother. Now the man and the demon took earnestly to cultivation.

Now that the demon knew a bit of the black art (*took-tak*), a sealed book to the man, and could do as much work in the field as could be done by the man in twice or thrice the time needed by the demon, so his fields bore plenty of crops, quite to the amazement of his human brother. At the time of going to the field the demon's wont was to take the opposite way of the man.

One day the man asked him about his way. The demon pointed to the way up. The man, according to his logic, went down and suddenly came across a red substance shooting by him which bore the semblance of a hen. At this the man fell senseless to the ground, when the demon, bringing him back to his senses again by means of his incantations, addressed him saying: "Fearing the worst of you, my dear, I act contrary to what I say." In consideration that his stay there might be prejudicial to the safety of man, he removed himself to the side of a distant tank and while leaving instructed him in better cultivation and in the practice of the (*took-tak*) black art. This explains the practice of demon-worship among the Nagas.

This man begot two sons. One was named Upa. [In sema, "Upa" means to fly away. And because a hen was flying off, hence this naming]. Another was called Huepo. ["Huepo" means a native jar for sucking honey. And because such a one was near by, hence the naming].

Some Semas explain their origin by a different tradition. They say the Aoo, Angami, Lota and Sema Nagas are the descendants of four uterine brothers. The eldest had a religious turn of mind, was much cared for by the parents and adequately clothed. He is the forefather of the Angamis. The second, a quarrelsome fellow, was poorly clothed by the parents and is traced as the head of the Aoo stock. The third was also an exact copy of the second and is the reputed ancestor of the Lota section.

A notorious scoundrel and mischievous

wretch, the fourth was never submissive to his parents, who angrily attached a piece of rag to his waist and turned him out of doors. The Semas are his progeny. This incident is at the root of different clothing amongst the above-mentioned four Naga tribes.

Some Semas again are of opinion that they have come out from the gigantic stone at the village of Kajakunema. The Angamis, too, favour various traditions explicative of their origin and also refer to the gigantic stone of Kajakunema as the birth-place of the Angamis, the Semas, and the Lotas. This peculiar stone-legend is current also among the other Nagas. The Aoo Nagas say they have come from the Loongturak mountain and so the Nagas as a rule deify the mountains.

I think it will not be quite out of place to give a detailed account of the Angamese legend about the Kajakunema stone. According to it there lived an old man and his wife with three sons in Kajakunema. The three sons used to sun their paddy on the stone. Great was their surprise when the paddy would double its amount every evening. This miracle was naturally attributed to a specific property in the stone itself and the phenomenon consequently tended to sound a jarring note amongst the brothers with regard to its possession, which fact, being perceived by their father, caused him to pile heaps of straw on the said stone and set fire to it. With the reverberation of thunder the stone split into two and out came the demon within and went up to Heaven. Though the property of the stone was lost, the brothers fell out with one another before long, separated and betook themselves to different regions.

The Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas are the descendants of these three.

Though these legends never give us solid facts to rely upon yet they help us so much as to infer, and truly indeed, that once they lived together, and this is also corroborated by the striking unity of social life of the three different Naga tribes. The Aoo and Miris are similar and are traced to the same stock. The Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas bury their dead; whereas the Aoo and the Miris preserve them. The Angami, Sema and Lota women do not tatoo their bodies; whereas the Aoo and Miri women do. The Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas

have no separate "Morong" (household for the unmarried); whereas the Aoo and the Miris have. Again, the former three have no "Shankum" (the music on the eve of a victory), whereas the latter two have it. A great deal of difference can be marked even in the construction of their houses. For instance, the Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas have got wooden "Kikas" in their houses, but no "Machang" there; whereas the Aoo and Miris have plenty of bamboo-built "Machang" inside the house and verandah outside but no "Kikas".

SEMA MALES AND FEMALES AND THEIR DRESSES.

The male Semas are of swarthy complexion but handsome, strongly built, brave and courageous. They are fond of hunting and rank highest among all the Nagas for their military tactics. The Semas, whose only wearing apparel is nothing but a piece of green rag, very small in size and kept hanging down from the fore part of the waist, can be unhesitatingly called a naked people.

But a very reasonable explanation is offered by them for this intentional paucity in dress: We are born naked and it is sinful to hide that nudity. The Semas, though a primitive race, are accustomed to theft and falsehood, and have a sharp sense of social precedence. You can easily single out a wealthy Sema with a wreath of conch shell around his neck and ivory ornaments on the arms and "cowry" ornaments on the wrist. They form a noble class by themselves and can wear boar's teeth as an insignia of their nobility won by succeeding in beheading a fellow-creature. Such a custom was prevalent indeed before the establishment of the British government there and the humanising influence thereof came into operation, but the relic of such a dignified sense of nobility amongst them is still visible when they as camp-followers accompany the frontier expeditionary forces sent against the Miris, Mishmis, Abars, Akas or Dafflas, and can decapitate anybody, dead or alive, or even can spear a corpse.

The Sema dance is the best of all Naga dances. They generally dance on the eve of some festivities. The most striking feature of that dance is the fantastic dresses and ornaments they wear at the time of dancing. These generally consist of

some uncouth substances and rude implements of war worn in different parts of the body, such as a two edged *dao* hung along the back from the shoulder, caps made of bear's skin or human hair and the like.

The Sema women are strongly built but they are dark and not handsome. They have got their hair brown and short.

The Semas also have got a dowry system contrary to the Bengal system, the bride-groom has to pay for the bride, and therefore, like the Aoo, they cannot enjoy the blessing (!) of numberless marriages, as it entails a heavy expenditure of money on the profligate. Having no fear of a divorce, the Sema woman takes little care of her physical charms after the nuptial knot is once tied, and to their credit it may be said that among the whole family of Naga women the Sema kind is the only one that knows what chastity really means.

True to the nature of all women, the Sema females are very fond of ornaments and fine dresses. Thus they like various kinds of bangles made of mixed metals, and wreaths of conch-shells and crimson coloured "manis" are no less their favourite. Their "mekhalas" spreading from the waist down to the ankle is a very beautiful and costly thing if variegated by parallel lines of conch-shells or crimson-coloured "mani" wreaths. Such a "mekhala" belonging to a Sema girl of a wealthy father may be worth forty or fifty rupees at a rough estimate. But the primary defect in their dress, which strikes one most, is that they never care to cover their breast.

Christianity has not as yet appeared among the Semas and no light of education has, as yet, crept into their society. They are still at the lowest grade of civilisation like the Miris.

THE SEMA VILLAGE AND HOUSEHOLD.

There are trenches running round all the Sema villages, and these trenches again are palisaded with thick rows of bamboos.

All this is a provision for holding out against the enemy. There is no "para" or khel in the Sema Village. The two-thatched Sema houses are generally made of straw and bamboo with three doors respectively fitted in the front, in the back and in the side of the house. Opposite to the side door, peculiar only to the Sema houses, fire is

kept continually burning within. There are three rooms in every Sema house : the first or the fore room shelters the cows, pigs and other domestic animals ; the second or the middle room serves as the paddy-house ; the third or the last room serves the purpose of all other household affairs. The most important function, namely cooking, is performed there and the master of the house sleeps there with his wife and little children. As has already been said, the Semas have no separate "Marang" or household for the unmarried.

The unmarried Sema youths pass their nights in the first or fore-room which is big enough for them and the cattle, and the second or the middle room cordially welcomes the unmarried young girls.

MATRIMONIAL RITES.

There is nothing like courtship among the Semas. The parents on both sides settle a marriage, always subject to the opinion of the boy and the girl concerned. A matrimonial overture is confirmed by the would be bridegroom going to the bride's house attended by a number of friends, where they are helped to sumptuous dishes of sweet-smelling boiled rice and honey by the bride according to the wishes of her mother. A Sema girl values her chastity above all. The parents of a young unmarried Sema girl watch over her carefully, and Sema society is no less punctilious on this point. Thus if a young Sema touches the body of an unmarried young Sema girl, he is liable to a fine and is hated and ridiculed by society. A rigid observance of this moral rule by Sema society has served to save the Sema girls from living a life of immorality and shamelessness, to which the Aoo girls have succumbed mainly owing to the laxity of their society with regard to the keeping up of this standard of morality.

We have already said that there is a kind of dowry system among the Semas. Generally the girl's father is entitled to exact something from the boy's father. When an overture is consented to both by the boy and the girl, the father of the boy finds the amount to be paid to the girl's father. In the marriage of a rich man's daughter or of a chieftain's, the amount may rise as high as five or six hundred rupees. The lowest amount may be fifty or sixty rupees, roughly speaking, without paying which even the poorest Sema can-

not aspire to wedlock. It may be asked what dowry does the girl's father give to his dear daughter. To the credit of her father we may say that he often cuts out a considerable part of the much-talked-of amount paid to him consisting of cash money and domestic animals and gracefully allots it to the share of his daughter. On the day of the marriage the parents of the bridegroom, accompanied by their relations, proceeds with a big boar towards the house of the girl's father for bringing her. The bride's father feeds them sumptuously with the meat of that boar. The party then carries the bride to the new house of the bridegroom, which he himself builds specially for this purpose, and passes the night there sumptuously fed. The Sema bride comes no poor hanger-on to her husband's house. Apart from the handsome dowry already referred to, she comes possessed with a solid "Stridhana property" of her own. It is customary with Sema girls, while under their father's roof, to amass separate property unknown to their father and deposit with persons other than himself. This self-acquired property together with the dowry—which sometimes consist of valuable things such as pigs, hens, precious stones, ornaments of mixed metals, wearing apparel, &c.,—indeed farther dignifies her personality in the eye of her husband and his relations.

Polygamy is allowed in the Sema society, and a "Sardar" can marry six or seven wives. On the death of a Sema his wives may be married out to other families, but if the brothers of the deceased are willing to marry them themselves they can be given away to others on no account. A man can marry his step-mother on the death of his father. Though the Sema society allows divorce among its people, it never makes a very abundant use of this custom like the Aaos and other Nagas. The ground of divorce is dissatisfaction of the husband. If the divorce comes within three years of the marriage the husband may recover the amount paid to the father of the wife, but if it comes later the husband is to pay a fine to the wife. The birth of a child even within three years of the marriage is no bar to a divorce.

RELIGION AND PRIESTCRAFT.

The Semas are monotheistic in belief and their name of God is "Kunmlin." Kunmlin has created this universe and



A Sema Girl.



Sema Girls Fetching Firewood.

resides in the sky. He sees through the deeds of all. The Semas believe in "Satan" and favour the stories of ghosts and spectres. The Sema satan is known as "Tagamy." The favourite haunt of Tagamy is in the midst of gigantic stones, in the beds of rivers, in the dense forest and, according to some, in the very houses of men now and then. According to Sema belief the soul of a religious man goes up to the sky and becomes a Deo there and that of an irreligious one walks down to an abysmal depth below and is born again as a human being or a fly there.

Auou (आउओ) is the principal priest of the Semas and in every village there is one of them. Being the hereditary priest of the Semas, and in respect second to the sardar, the Auou is the authority on questions of the "gena" or religious rites of the

Semas, and the sole person to fix the date for the celebration of such a gena and to order for its necessary publication. He receives paddy from every villager and in time of gena he gets meat. Whenever a new village is going to be founded, the house of the Auou has first to be built, then that of the sardar and then others'.

In every village there is a class of people known as "Lapu" or Apnou whose business is to bury the dead of the village. The shovels used at the time of the burial come to the possession of these Lapus, whose secondary business is also to dig out canals for the purpose of letting the water in and out whenever a new village is in the process of being built. In a gena called "Afsata" the Lapu will suck honey first of all and will receive a cow's leg and a seer of salt. He also gets sufficient paddy for burying the dead.

GENA.

The Sema genas are few and simple and similar to other Naga genas, both individual and social. There is no hard and fast rule for the celebration of an individual 'gena,' which is indicative of the wealth and social position of the celebrater and which can only be performed by the rich folk of the community, but the social 'genas' must be performed by one and all and every one must render pecuniary help for the performance of such a rite.

The genas are naturally performed after the conclusion of a happy marriage, after the safe ending of the sowing season, at the time of reaping a harvest, and at the time of clearing a forest for the purpose of cultivation. During these genas people are fed to their heart's content with rice and honey and the celebration is graced by a lively demonstration of dancing and singing. These festivities and enjoyments which last sometimes for thirty days are meant for good harvest, increase of wealth and decrease of woe. At the time of worshipping the Deo, a woman is not allowed to be present there. Their sacrificing poles, something similar to those in Bengal, are of the shape of an Y. We have already said the Semas believe that the Tagami also lives in the houses of men. So, to avert such a catastrophe, they perform a gena called "Akichiney" yearly or every three years, in which the Sema male and female, rising early in a particular morning, will sacrifice a small boar, burn it, divide it into sixty parts on sixty leaves with sixty grains of rice, and pass the whole day within doors feeding themselves simply upon meat and honey. To avert any visitation of plague or outbreak of serious fire in the village the villagers unitedly perform every year a gena called "Akneya", at which the "Auou" is the principal priest who sacrifices a very large boar and several hens, and this is simply attended by the males to the exclusion of the females. There are various other genas like these.

SEMA SARDARS AND SEMA COLONY SYSTEM.

In every Sema village there is a sardar or a king who is the absolute master of that village. Sema sardarship is hereditary and succession to it is ruled by the law of primogeniture. When a sardar becomes too old to carry on the administration of his village he generally delegates

his power to his eldest son. The agricultural fields are the sardar's property, who leases out plots of them to the villagers, who in return work in their sardar's fields free of charge and whenever any one of them catches fish or hunts an animal, the sardar will undoubtedly get his royal share.

Whenever there is a perceptible increase in the population of a village and its limited resources cannot meet the demands of the increased population, a band of villagers set out with the purpose of founding a new village with new corn-fields. They take with them a Auou and a Lapu, and the sardar sends one of his sons with them who becomes the sardar of the new village. First of all the Lapu digs out the waterpaths of the village. Then the house of the Auou is prepared. Then comes the sardar's and last of all the other villagers'. Other Naga tribes lack such a colonising activity.

NAMING.

The sardar gives warlike, famous, and heroic names to his children which the other people cannot aspire to and if any one is ambitious enough to call one of his issues by such a name, an exclusive luxury of the sardar, he is sure to have heaps of ridicule and banter showered upon his head. Some villages are named after their sardars.

PRINCIPLE OF SUCCESSION TO PROPERTY.

On the death of a Sema, his eldest son takes the largest share in the property and the house of his father; and the remainder is equally divided amongst his other sons.

The daughters have no claim to the immoveable property of their father. Though they have a certain right to the movable property if their father was an admittedly rich man.

LYCANTHROPY.

The Semas fancy that certain people have the power of changing themselves into tigers. According to them, half the soul of such a lycanthropist runs into the forest and takes shelter in a tiger, whereas the other half remains in the body of the man himself. When this tiger is chased by anybody, the half-souled man instantaneously runs mad and the people suspect a lot of things. Some people change themselves into tigers in malice and

in that form destroy the cattle of their enemies. If the tiger is killed by chance, the man also dies.

It is very difficult to release half the soul from a tiger unless the lycanthropist can eat the remnant of the raw meat tasted by that particular tiger in which his soul resides. It is not known if the tiger dies at the death of the man but it is unmistakably certain that the man dies at the death of the tiger. To make their belief

well-founded they generally trace a similarity in the outward appearance of the tiger and the man by means of a few signs. Thus, if the lycanthropist has a wreath around his neck, the tiger also must have white and red signs across its neck looking like a wreath, etc. If the lycanthropist by chance meets the tiger in the forest, the latter generally runs circling about the former very eagerly.

There is a rumour about a Naga of the Sarumi village that heran away as a lycanthrope in the forest, and the people who ignorantly killed him were all drowned. When such a tiger is chased by the people the relatives of the man-tiger become conscious of it at once and they inform the chasers about it. My Naga servant "Huvekey" has seen his eldest brother "Luzatulukey" of the "Khukia" village and "Shakutukey" of "Hohibi" village turn themselves into tigers. He was himself one of the party when the villagers of "Khukia" gave chase to the tiger possessed of the soul of the aforesaid "Shakutukey".



The Semas Cultivating.

He says that just when a very hot chase was given to the tiger the villagers of "Hohibi" came running by and identified it to be Shakutukey, whereupon they had to cease the chase and return home. "Shakutukey" himself admitted that he had passed through a crisis. These lycanthropists can change others also into tigers but such an operation takes up a good deal of time.

AGRICULTURE AND ITS PRODUCE.

The Nagas are an agricultural people. The majority of the Semas are poor and some have no corn-field at all. Some live as serfs in the houses of the sardar and the rich man who gives them fields, and they in their turn work in the fields of their masters. Wool, corn, kani corn, etc., are their chief agricultural produce. They have very few watered fields, but the great majority of their fields are dry. If such a dry field is located in a very high place and the soil is comparatively rather fertile, the Semas can use it for two consecutive years; other-

THEIR FOOD AND DRINK.

The Nagas eat cows, boars, dogs, and other domestic animals. Some Nagas like to eat monkeys, but bears and deer are the favourite food of all the Nagas. The Semas do not eat snakes and tigers. Among the whole race of the Nagas, the Semas only know a bit of cleanliness about their food, but the Aaos are the worst in this matter and the Angamis exclude nothing from their foodstuff.

I have been an eye-witness to a very interesting spectacle. More than once I have seen both Semas and Lotas hold a grand feast upon the living white ants. In the dark of the evening when the white ants begin to come out from holes in the earth, quite a number of Sema men and women, both young and old, not to speak of the little boys and girls, assemble at their issuing place and feed themselves to their heart's content upon these delicious little things. Some catch a huge number for carrying them home. Some again gulp them down so greedily and in such a large quantity that it simply nauseates one to look at them at the time. Some need no other food for the night.

The school boys and the interpreters indeed become shy at the sight of us, but



A Sema Chief.

wise they have to leave it uncultivated for eight or nine years together so as to make it fit for cultivation again. This makes their cultivation a difficult and painful task for them.

The Semas know not how to weave their clothes but they are clever enough to hide their inability by adducing a false excuse that this is "prohibited". The same excuse is used to explain away their ignorance in the making of iron implements and weapons.

These articles they purchase from the Miris, Rangmas, and Lotas. But now in some villages this industry has dawned and some iron-made articles of every day use are being made there.



The Stone From Which The Semas Believe That They Have Originated.

such a morbid hesitation gives way under a much more keen temptation before long, and with a little pause they take to their delightful labour with much more enthusiasm than before. The Semas do not eat elephants; perhaps because no such thing is available in their high-peaked mountains. The Nagas do full justice to an animal's flesh in the strictest sense of the word. To the credit of the Semas, Lotas, and Aoos, it may be said that they reject the hairy portion, whereas the Angamis are very careful to retain them. Honey is the favourite drink of the Nagas.

TREATMENT OF DEAD BODIES.

The Semas, like the Angamis and the Lotas, bury their dead in the court-yard. The dead body of a very little child, five or six days old, is buried within the house. The burial takes place on the very day of the death. On the death of a rich man his relations assemble at his house to mourn his loss and do not bury him until they have performed some gena on behalf of his departed soul. The well-known Lapu digs the grave and places the dead body in it. He gets two "khangs" of paddy for burying each dead body and gets a share of the cattle sacrificed in the gena. On the third day of the death another gena is performed and the relatives of the deceased are feasted with the meat of a big boar. The relatives of a dead male, on their part, celebrate the gena for six days and those of a female for five days, and during



A Sema Grave.

that term of impurity none of them do any work for themselves.

On the death of a sardar or a wealthy man, the villagers in a body perform a universal gena for one day when none of them do any work.

The Semas build small houses over the graves of well-to-do persons with bamboo built "Machangs" within, whereupon they place spears, *dāos*, shields, various clothes and numerous wreathes of "matis." They keep suspended around the house as many wooden imitations of the heads of wild animals and ferocious beasts as the deceased had killed in their life-time and if any one distinguished himself by cutting off human heads during his life-time they hang an equal number of wooden imitations of human heads around the little house on his grave.

Gauhati,
Assam.

SURENDRANATH MAZUMDAR,
L. M. S.

THE RUINS OF GANGAIKONDACHOLAPURAM

"Fair Greece! Sad relic of departed worth!
Immortal, though no more! though fallen, great!..."
—Byron.

THE article deals with the ruins of the once great capital of Rajendra Chola, situated in a remote corner of the Udayarpalayam Taluk, Trichinopoly Dis-

trict, and connected by gravel road with Aduthurai, a railway station in the South Indian Railway, in the Tanjore District.

These ruins of India's forgotten greatness of an age—a golden age, when her emperors extended their puissant arms beyond the seas, when empires



The High Artistic Gateway Leading to the Sanctum From South.

home of the mighty intellects, poets, statesmen, and philosophers; these ruins "glimmering through the things that were," with a peculiar witchery and delight on a moonlit night, strike the beholder with the mingled feelings of awe, reverence and admiration. There they stand, phoenix-like, changing, yet unchanged—yes, changing in all the varied, and charming processes of dilapidation to scarce a mound of crumbled sands!

HISTORY.

This G a n g a i - k o n d a c h o l a p u r a m was made the Capital of the Empire, by Rajendra Chola Deva, surnamed Gangaikonda, son and successor of Rajaraja Chola, who reigned from 1018—1035 A. D., and named it in commemoration of the conquests of Northern India, extending as far north as the Ganges. G a n g a i - k o n d a c h o l a p u r a m means the town of Chola who conquered Ganga or the Ganges. His achieve-

mightier than those of Assyria, Babylon, and Greece, grew, flourished, and decayed; these ruins standing in lonely dignity, and solemn grandeur, amidst the now desolate waste, defying, as it were, the ravages of Time, scorning to note the violent convulsions and revolutions that were daily being acted before them, yet remaining always a silent witness; these ruins, a monument of Eternity, "once the Dome of Thought, the Palace of the Soul," and the

ments as an emperor were immense: his fleet crossing the Bay of Bengal attacked and captured Kadaram the ancient capital of Prome, and also the seaports of Takolam and Mattams (Martaban). The annexation of Nicobar and Andaman Islands soon followed the conquest of Pegu. Says V. A. Smith, the well-known author of the "Early History of India":

"During the earlier years of his reign, Rajendra Chola Deva, had occupied himself with a succession

of wars against the northern powers. He came into collision even with Mahipala, King of Behar and Bengal, and brought his army to the banks of the Ganges. In memory of this exploit, he assumed the title of Gangaikonda, and built a new capital city, which he called Gangaikondacholapuram. Near this city he constructed a vast artificial lake with an embankment 16 miles long, fully provided with the necessary sluices, and channels for the irrigation of a large area. The city was adorned by a magnificent palace, and a gigantic temple enshrining a lingam, formed of a black granite monolith 30 ft. high. The ruins of these structures, sadly defaced by the ravages of Modern Utilitarians in search of building materials, still stand in lonely grandeur in a desolate region of the Trichinopoly District. The sculptures in the temple are of singular excellence."

In his new capital, Rajendra Chola Deva built the gigantic temple in the model of the temple at Tanjore. The temple is surrounded by an enclosure measuring 580 ft. by 370 ft. and at the corners stand the bastions, now in a ruined condition.

The tower is built in a pyramidal form, measuring about 240 ft. high, and the base of it is so broad, that it is popularly supposed that the shadow of the tower, never falls beyond the base. The bull-god that faces the temple is said to be monolithic—but the broken pieces of masonry show it to be otherwise—and its height may be conceived by a comparison with the size of the man standing in the photograph by the side of it.

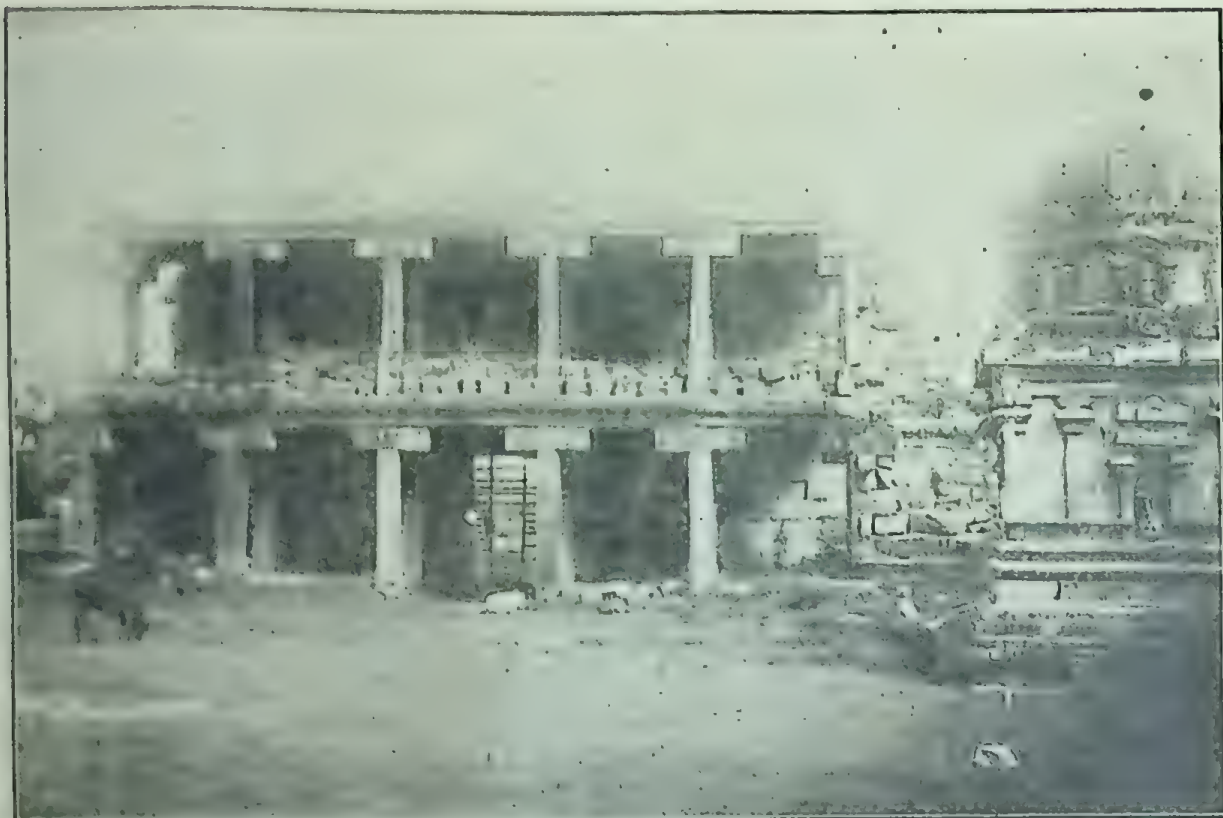
The works of art and sculpture are of a very high standard, and the cost and labour that should have been spent in the construction of the artistic gateway that leads to the sanctum sanctorum may be imagined by a look at the photograph. There are two gateways, one in the south,



The Tall Pyramidal Tower, and the Colossal Bull god.

and one in the north, measuring 60 ft. high.

The surrounding gallery of two storeys high was a magnificent structure. What with the ravages of time, what with the utilitarian view—"Civilized Vandalism"—of the Company's Government to build the Lower Annicut (1836), and the Jubilee Tank at Jayangondacholapuram, these piles of ruins look sadder, affording an



The Remaining Portion of the Gallery, which once Extended Throughout the Prakara from which Granite Stone and other Building Materials Were Removed to Build the Lower Annicut in 1836.

Photographs taken by K. Kalyanasundram Iyer,
13 Sarkar Naik Street, Kumbakonam.

awful contrast, of what it had been, and what it is now!

But Oh! where are the palaces, the baths, the gardens, the pleasure groves? Alas! gone, gone are the days of the glorious Rajendra Chola, gone are the

village assemblies, the "little republics"; and the great Empire itself, obeying the predestined laws, has perished! *Hic jacet* is writ in the Book of Time!

K. RAMACHANDRAN.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM

POLITICAL phenomena are at bottom but psychological phenomena. So it behoves the student of psychology no less than the politician to study, and if possible, also to solve, the problems presented by political complexities. The Indian situation is one of the greatest problems before the world. Politicians of various schools and divergent views have had their full say. Let the problem now

be attacked not from the standpoint of politics, but from that of human nature.

That a malady, and that of a very serious nature, exists, is undisputed. But the diagnosis has hitherto been a matter of the greatest dispute. The causes discovered are many, and the remedies prescribed are still more.

It is amusing as well as amazing to witness the singular spectacle of the leaders

of the opposite parties deciding their own case. Every judge may not be a very acute lawyer, but it is essential that he should not belong to any of the parties concerned. Absolute detachment is of course impossible in politics—every Indian has an unconscious bias in favour of India and every Englishman has the same in favour of England,—but relative detachment in the study of a problem so complex is not only desirable, it is essential, it is imperative. A party leader is *ex hypothesi* an impassioned enthusiast, a biassed advocate, void of balanced judgment. He would cease to be a party leader the moment he viewed the questions affecting his party with impartiality and detachment. This very fact disqualifies him for arriving at an equitable solution of a problem so full of emotional factors as the future of the British in India.

It would be interesting, if not also instructive, to acquaint ourselves with some of the causes discovered and remedies prescribed.

First, comes the theory of revenge. It means that the British in India by their deeds of oppression, tyranny, treachery and deceit have made themselves obnoxious to the people of India who are now seeking every opportunity to avenge themselves. Repression, pure and naked, is, according to this theory, the proper remedy.

Next, there is the opinion that it is Western education that has turned the heads of the Indian people, so the Government has only to curtail education in order to stop sedition and discontent.

Then there is another school whose formula is that the Indian unrest is essentially an un-employment problem, so that if the British could manage to create a sufficiently large number of employments for the educated classes, there would be an end of all the trouble.

There is yet another class of politicians who are convinced that the entire unrest is due to the exclusion of religion and theology from our modern scheme of education, so that if we could make Indian education a little theological, India could be won back.

These are some of the typical causes discovered by professional politicians to be at the root of the Indian discontent. Let us consider these separately.

1. If the alienation of India is due

solely to isolated acts of misdeed on the part of British Officials, how is it that the isolated acts of British justice and benevolence, far more numerous, have failed to bring about a reversal of this feeling of aversion? Has not England given India many good things? Has she not given her roads, bridges, canals, railways, post offices, telegraphs, hospitals, libraries, colleges, universities? Is India utterly insensible to these blessings of British rule? Or would it be seriously contended that Indians as a race are wholly devoid of that universal human instinct—gratitude? Moreover, is it not a fact that India placed herself under British rule willingly? She was as a whole never won by conquest. She placed herself almost voluntarily under Britain's protection. This was more than a century and a half ago. Sixty years ago she got an opportunity of repudiating her choice, but instead of that she ratified it. As for the remedy suggested, has repression succeeded in any country at any time? It failed in Russia, failed in Turkey, failed in France, failed in England herself. In India too it has had its trial. Since the year 1907, there has been an unbroken succession of repressive laws in the Statute Book, stringent and yet more stringent. And the only consequence has been a corresponding increase of lawlessness. Anarchism, utterly foreign to Indian history, took its birth in 1908, and ever since have deeds of violence, political dacoities, assassinations, and virulence of language continued to go up.

2. The cause discovered here is only partially true, but the remedy suggested is entirely inapplicable. Let the advocates of this view reflect. Is it at all practicable to check the ever-increasing volume of educational progress? It is now some years since the bureaucracy have been doing their level best, in the name of efficiency, to keep down the number of the school-going population. But what has been the result? A growing number of private schools, private colleges, and now comes the inauguration of a national university. The school-going population far from going down is constantly on the increase.

3. The third reason adduced is singularly puerile. Is the unrest confined wholly, or even largely, to the unsuccessful employment-seeking class? Just the reverse.

It is precisely the "agitator" class who not only do not seek Government employments, but very often positively decline to accept them when offered. Besides, the Government have for several years been throwing open to the dark-complexioned high offices hitherto preserved for the white; yet there is not the slightest sign of decrease in the prevailing unrest.

4. The last observation is also clearly opposed to facts. It is not the want of theological instruction but the excess of it that pervades the Indian home atmosphere. Nor is there a dearth of denominational and sectarian schools and colleges where theological instruction forms an integral part of the curriculum. Such institutions are not few and far between. They flourish at every important place throughout the country. And it is to be noted that not a few of the political internees and detenus have hailed from the religious and priestly classes. The unenviable position that the Arya Samajic societies have long held in the official eyes is known to all. And who in Upper India does not know that such avowedly theological and religious institutions as the Muslim College of Divinity at Cawnpur, Seminary for the Study of Quran at Delhi, and the Servants of Kaaba (Mecca) Society are the objects of special attention of the Police and the C.I.D.

Thus it is apparent that none of the explanations hitherto advanced have tackled the real difficulty. Some of them are entirely wrong, and some are only partially true.

What then is the correct etiology?

The fault lies not so much at the door of the enquirers as with the method of inquiry they have unconsciously adopted. They have exclusively used the Inductive plan. They have arrived at diverse conclusions, but the method of induction is common to all. All of them have observed some external phenomena—every one choosing his phenomena according to his personal predilection,—have generalized them, and based their conclusions on the same.

Now this method so useful in scientific inquiries has its limitations. The mere fact that the results have been so divergent is enough to show that this particular inquiry does not lend itself to this method. The subject is unmanageable by the inductive method owing partly to its extreme

natural complexity, partly to the impossibility of experimenting upon the immense and bewildering details collected round it, and partly to the force of bias and prejudices attending it. It is no disparagement of the inductive method to hold that it is not of universal application. There are occasions when instead of being helpful it is a positive hindrance. Even David Hume, who can nowise be termed an anti-empiricist, was obliged to discard its use in his *Natural History of Religion* as also in his far greater works, *The Treatise*, and *The Inquiry*.

Let us try the same expedient. Let us reverse the process in vogue. Instead of proceeding from the concrete to the abstract, let us proceed from the abstract to the concrete. Let us take our stand on internal principles, primary and original, instead of external events that elude experiment.

Just as the only way of gaining a decisive victory is to march direct at the capital and not to stop at the frontier, so the surest and simplest way to guide us out of the present labyrinth is a common-sense inspection of our own minds and to find out the general principles that govern human feelings and human actions—not to get confused in the bewildering details of the concrete facts, but to seize at the fundamental springs of conduct—and then to apply these to the particular case before us.

Thus the problem is immensely simplified. A few simple propositions respecting human nature will furnish us with a proper solution. Here they are:—

First:—Assertion of the individual will is one of the fundamental properties of the human mind. Self-rule is the universal desire. Every human being, nay every animal, high or low, loves independence. This is one of the first principles of sentient life. Anybody who disputes this is not fit to be reasoned with.

Secondly:—Surrender of individual freedom is only possible either when there is a complete absence of self-consciousness, or when there is serious risk of loss of one's life or means of living (no matter whether one's idea of 'living' is modest or exaggerated). Court parasites and sycophants come under the last category. Their idea of 'living' makes them think that unless they demean themselves they cannot get on.

Thirdly :—As soon as this risk is over there is a spontaneous revival of the said feeling—there is without any external intervention an automatic reappearance of the same strong feeling of self-assertion—and now with added impatience at the continuance of the old regime. Witness the zeal and fury with which an idolator converted to rationalism hastens to break his idols.

Fourthly :—Once this feeling is roused, repression and concession alike on the part of the protector are unavailing. Repression is bound to drive the *protege* into desperation who will seize the earliest opportunity of making open revolt. Nor can a policy of conciliation do any good, for every concession is sure to be taken as a sign of weakness. Total liberation is the only remedy.

Facts from history of various nations and countries can easily be adduced to support these propositions. Readers who may insist on having inductive evidence will do well to look at an account of Mediæval Europe in any good book on European History, where they will see how national self-consciousness of various barbarian tribes came into existence, how with a sense of proud nationalism they resented the interference of both the emperor and the pope (the two mightiest powers of the time) in their affairs, and how finally they threw off all allegiance to both and became fully independent. But to cite such facts is superfluous. These propositions are not based on any chain of inductive evidence; they are merely the expression of the ultimate facts of human mind. They are not derived from experience. Observation and historical evidence can only illustrate them; they cannot prove them. Their truth entirely depends on an inspection and reading of our own minds. They are part of the constitution of things.

Now, the collective mind, though different in many respects from the individual mind, is entirely at one with it in this particular respect. That is to say, the truth of these propositions holds good as much in the case of peoples as in the case of individuals—the conduct of the former is as inexorably governed by these laws as that of the latter.

To come to the application of these psychological axioms. From the Indian stand-point, British rule is an absolutely

foreign domination. Englishmen are foreigners to India in race, in colour, in religion, in language, in customs, in temperament, in short in every respect save what constitutes the common ground of humanity. India allowed herself to be placed under British protection (and ratified her choice) at times when excessive internal dissensions and distractions had made her void of self-consciousness. Every individual is liable to fits of distraction. And so is every people. India accepted England as her protector when the barometer of her political consciousness had reached the lowest point. But lapse of self-consciousness does not endure. This was bound to be a mere passing phase; judgment was destined to return sooner or later.

And return it did, perhaps sooner than the rulers had anticipated. With the advent of British rule peace and tranquillity began to reign supreme in a country which had long been oppressed with internal feuds,—in fact this is pre-eminently the blessing of British rule. A reign of peace, however, invariably brings with it some attendant vocations of its own, the most important of which is the vocation of knowledge. The British did all they could to encourage the spread of education consistent with their policy of carrying on the work of subordinate administration through the native agency. Now, education is the great revealer of one's latent possibilities. An uninterrupted reign of peace was in itself sufficient to bring about awakening. Spread of education served as a powerful stimulus. It was bound to hasten the revival of the feeling of self-consciousness that had lain dormant so long. And that it has done. Education has done its work. It has thoroughly rekindled the dead embers of self-will. It is now beyond the power of any Government to stop it. All efforts directed to this end will merely serve to further the cause of education. No human agency, however powerful, is capable of stifling the spirit of self-consciousness in any individual or community once it is roused. The lion has tasted blood; it is futile to lament the consequences.

India tolerated, even welcomed, foreign rule when she was in a state of stupor. She can tolerate it no more. She is now fully awake. It is no use at this juncture to recount the good that British rule has

done to India. It is of no avail to enumerate the benefits conferred by Britain on this dependency. You cannot keep a man in permanent bondage, if he wills to be free, by reminding him that once you rescued him from great danger and that since then you have fed him well in compensation of the menial duties that he performs for you.

The arguments so frequently used by Anglo-Indians to prove that India is incapable of self-rule because she is still so backward in point of literacy, religious toleration, etc., are amazingly *ad hominem*. India may or may not be capable of self-rule, but it is India, and India alone, who can judge of her competency. No foreigner has any business to act as the arbiter of her destiny. Such arguments do not touch the real issue. The only crucial point is,—does India mean to assert her will? Obviously she does. And there all talk about her incompetence becomes sheer irrelevance. What would these dictators of India's fate say if Germany were to employ similar arguments in reference to Belgium? Let us imagine a German with all the air of paternal concern addressing thus an audience of the Belgians:—"Look here, my boys, you are far inferior to us in point of literacy, culture, toleration, etc. We mean to educate you in the art of civilization gradually and by progressive stages. This would take a period of several centuries. Till that time arrives, welcome us as your kind masters." Let the champion of Anglo-India reflect on this picture. The only difference that he would be able to detect in the analogy will only accentuate his own weakness, since Germany has at any rate the right of conquest, while he cannot put forward even that plea.

What then is the conclusion? Are the British to relinquish their Government of India altogether? Are they after their rule of 160 years to leave this country bag and baggage?

To expect this is to expect the impossible. The British would be more than human if they could be persuaded to adopt this course. Their self-interest demands that they must always try to keep India in their grip. Self-interest is at the root of all human conduct, however altruistic some portions of it may seem to be. The same general principles of human nature that incite India to assert independence

impel England with equal imperativeness to continue her hold. Just as it is hard to find an individual Indian with any degree of self-respect willing to tolerate foreign rule, so it is extremely rare to come across an individual Englishman with any sense of self-interest prepared to relinquish an empire so fertile and so rich in natural resources. Here the Indian and the Briton take their stand on equally stable ground. They both cling to the fundamental principles of human life—self-assertion and self-interest.

Is there then no solution? Can there be no compromise? Preceding discussions have made us familiar with the root cause of discontent. Why is there a growing intolerance of British rule in India? Because the rulers are foreigners, because they are aliens, because the Indian community seeks to find an outlet for self-assertion. This is precisely *the* point where the shoe pinches. So the only way to bring about a settlement is to remove this bar, the bar of *foreign subjection*—to eliminate this factor as far as possible.

Now it is neither possible nor indeed very desirable that racial, religious and linguistic antagonism between the two communities be dispensed with, and absolute identity be established between them. But it is surely possible to do away with the political bondage, so that the Indian may feel that the Briton is not a foreigner, does not belong to a different nation, but is the same as he is.

In short, the pinch of subjection is the root cause; political equality is the sole remedy. To achieve this end in its entirety is not easy; to achieve it to a very considerable extent is not difficult. As things go at present, the Indian feels at every step, in every walk of life, that in his own country he belongs to a subject people—that in his own motherland it is for him to obey and for the foreigners to command. He finds that even the legislature makes invidious distinctions—laws for him are different from those for the white man.

But bad as these laws are in principle, they are far worse in practice. And not only in law-courts, but in clubs, in offices, in hotels, in universities, in councils, in railway carriages, in short whitherward the Indian turns, he experiences humiliation and indignity, till at last his resources of patience and resignation are exhausted and embers burst into flames.

Absolute equality and complete reciprocity alone can allay the excited feelings of an outraged India.

Do the present rulers, by their actions rather than words, afford us any chance of hoping for the better?

Let the following recent incidents, typical of many others that are happening almost every day, answer the question. I give the newspaper reports almost verbatim:—

Madras, January, 9.

A. F. Cuffley, a guard on the M. and S. M. Railway, was charged with having interfered with the comfort of two Mahomedan "Gosha" ladies, who for want of room in second class were travelling in first class *with the permission of railway officials*, having agreed to pay additional fare. On a complaint made by two European ladies, who were travelling in the same compartment, the guard *compelled* the "Gosha" ladies to leave the compartment. The guard was convicted by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 20.

The Sessions Judge referred the case to the High Court with a recommendation that the conviction should be set aside. Their Lordships Justice Abdur Rahim and Justice Napier upheld the conviction and sentence.

Transpose the terms "Gosha ladies" and "European ladies" in the above paragraphs, and the mockery of British justice will be apparent to the Europeans. "Gosha" ladies are those who observe strict seclusion, and their being *compelled* by a male guard to vacate their compartment which they rightfully occupied merely to oblige the women of his race is the highest pitch of insult that they could be subjected to. And yet the "European" guard gets off scot-free with a trivial fine of Rs. 20, *and a recommendation by the Sessions Judge for annulment of the sentence!*

Another case:—

Delhi, Jan. 9.

"Before Mr. Currie, Additional District Magistrate, Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh, Rais, Delhi, filed a complaint against Lieut. Widdicombe, Indian Army, Delhi, under Sections 504 and 323 I. P. C. for alleged assault. The complainant said he arrived at Delhi Railway station by the Punjab Mail on 8th January 1918, and as he came out of the gate of the Railway platform his servant came up to him weeping. On being asked the servant informed the complainant that he had been kicked by a Sahib. The complainant, thereupon, asked the servant why and by whom he had been kicked and in reply the servant pointed to three Europeans, saying that one of them had kicked him. The complainant finding that they were getting into the tonga ready to leave, approached them to ascertain if his servant had been kicked by any one of them for any fault, so that he might reprimand his servant if necessary. Instead of replying to the complainant's query, the accused grew

insolently threatening and said, "what the hell are you talking" and gave him a stunning blow in the right eye, smashing the eye-glasses. A great stir has been caused and indignation prevails among the Indian citizens."

The sequel:—

"Delhi, January 15.

"Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh Versus Lieut. Widdicombe came up for hearing before Mr. M. L. Currie, Additional District Magistrate to-day. *The accused took his seat in the dock* and as the Rai Bahadur proceeded with the evidence of assault the accused *punctuated it with smiles of triumph*. After prosecution evidence the accused made the following statement: On Monday night I came out of the station and went straight and sat down in a tonga. There were two other people with me. I came out first. Just after I sat down in the tonga I saw the two people with me having an argument with two Babus just outside the door. A third Babu came up to me, but I did not hear what he said. I then got out of the tonga and went over to two friends. On coming up to them one Babu, who was standing there in a very excited manner and waving his arms about in a threatening way, accused me of kicking his servant which I denied. He repeated the charge and asked my name. Thereupon I lost my temper and the result is that he has his eyes tied up.

Mr. M. L. Currie in the course of the judgment delivered to-day says after stating the facts of the case:—"The only question that calls for decision is, whether the accused received sufficient provocation to warrant assault. Anyone might be annoyed at being accused of assaulting somebody else's servant. This however does not justify him in hitting the man. In view of all the circumstances and taking into account the youth of the accused, I think a moderate fine will be a fit punishment. I therefore order him to pay a fine of Rs. 25.

"A huge crowd attended the court. An exemplary punishment was expected."

Nothing need be added to the above account, except perhaps that the gentleman so assaulted and brutally insulted by the bully who wore king's uniform is one of the most respected citizens of the metropolis, a title-holder and an Honorary Magistrate. The decision of the presiding Magistrate is inexplicable unless it is assumed that he fully shared the propensities of the culprit and was potentially in sympathy with him.

If incidents like these are unable to produce extreme bitterness and resentment in the mind of the insulted nation, nothing else can. Constant feeling of helplessness leads to despondency, and there is but a step from despondency to desperation. Sir Rabindranath Tagore's is not a name unknown in Europe. This philosopher-poet, this emblem of sobriety, while speaking of the unexplained and unexplainable internment of one of his pupils, is constrained to make the following observations:—

"We are anxiously waiting for some story to develop but the story takes a cruelly long time to come out about the poor boy. Also our grievances we must bear without any claim upon anybody for explanation or redress, if such be the decree of our rulers. But when we are asked to have blind faith on such dark methods, even our oriental training in the virtue of resignation does not help us."

Let all friends of England and of India make a note of this tone of sheer despondency. The depth of feeling revealed by these words of the Sage of the East is not to be taken lightly.

Yet no extent of isolated wrongs rectified can have the effect of reconciling a people who feel the sting of subjection every moment of their life, unless the whole idea of subjection and domination is banished altogether from the scheme of Government. A spirit of cordial conciliation can only prevail when both parties interchange mutual courtesies. Whatever may be the exact form of the future government of India, it is absolutely essential that its guiding principle should be reciprocity, complete and unqualified; a recognition of the absolute equality of the Indians and Britishers. No disability on one side, no privilege on the other. And the only practical way of effecting this is that the two communities be merged into one politically. There should be no separate Government of India subjected to the control of the Government of England, but only one Supreme Government of the Federal British Empire in

which England and India (as also other countries connected with Britain) should be linked as co-partners. Fraternity, not subjection, is the irreducible minimum of India's demand. Is England ready to fraternize? Let her reflect twice before she ventures to utter a refusal.

Preposterous though this suggestion may seem to politics-ridden brains, yet no other alternative is possible. If England wishes to retain her connection with India she must look at the facts as they stand, and not as she wishes them to be. Every one of us has to bow to the inevitable. No human agency is potent enough to direct a river to flow back to its source.

India is already lost to England in spirit. In this way alone can she be won back and kept linked with her for an indefinitely long time.

If the present study has hurt the interests of some, the writer can offer no apology. A psychological investigation aims at truth, or more correctly, at truth so far as it can be comprehended by our reason and senses. It cannot promise to bring happiness to all or any.

The supreme test of statesmanship is to avoid revolutions, and this can only be done by a prompt and frank recognition of the possibilities of the situation and by a wise adjustment of means to ends.

Blessed are those who possess the gift of provision.

A MUSSALMAN PSYCHOLOGIST.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE RED LAUGH by Gerre Baronti, published by the Cornhill Company, Boston.

This volume gives us a collection of short poems by the talented authoress of that excellent little drama, *The Modern Phoenix*. If we look for variety in a volume of verse we have enough of it here both as regards the sentiments expressed and the metres used. The first two pieces however,—"The Red Laugh" (from which the volume takes its title) and "The Question,"—seem to be connected by a community of subject matter. The authoress looks at the great convulsion which now shakes the world, the workings of that

"Arch-fiend of all dark worlds that be,
Whose poisoned breath blows scorching o'er
Fair lands of late prosperity—
Deep irrigated now with gore,"

and she feels about those who participate in this bloody play that

"Their hearts are closed, their reason gone,
Through reddened mist they cannot see,
They groping, stumble wildly on
Engaged in vile absurdity."

She sees that

"The beasts are tramping o'er the world
The maddened hordes by Mammon led—
While from the North's snow-lock'd embrace
Reach frozen fingers begging bread"—

and the questioning cry inevitably comes from her

"Where art thou, God?"

There is a tendency in some poems towards an epigrammatic mode of expression which however is never carried too far. "How I Love" is a case in point and here she tells us how she hates

"The coward who links arms with regret,
The weaklings who lean on atonement,
The weak-kneed charity of the ultra-respectable,
The sterilized vice of the hypocrite,
All who obey too easily."

The "Echoes" is a beautiful imaginative piece, telling us about the fairy queen, and the home of the mermaid and how

"At night the sea would gently moan
With echoes from that hidden home."

"Waiting" is replete with classical recollections ;—

"With the masonic Socrates
If virtue be but knowledge true
You did discuss ; and failed to see
The burning flame that leaped at you.
Across the Pincian hills you gazed,
As the immortal city passed
With mournful dirge, your vision cleared
And saw your soul revealed at last."

"The Triad" expresses the poetess' longings after the unusual and she asks for pain and love in turn and concludes with a prayer for death,—

"Oh send me Death that I may see
The beauty in the mystery
When beaten hope has fled !
For only light from flame divine
Can feed this famished soul of mine
When fire-bred love lies dead."

"The Storm" is powerful and picturesque and the irregular metre is effective in the way of illustrating the changeful aspects of the phenomenon. The call of love is again felt in the "Awakened" and she cries out at the end

"Love, I awake, I awake ;
And to life, to hope, and to freedom
I add the birth of my laughter."

"The Sketches" lose none of their suggestiveness because of their shortness. Here are two or three :

"The snow and rain
Caress and soothe,
But the wind saddens,—
It is the deep rumbling
Earth—echo
Of all the gods' despair."

"Sweet white rose sprinkled with the dew,
How well you play your part !
For who would dream on seeing you
The canker eats your heart ?"
"A dense, dark pall drapes the autumn sky
In premature mourning ;
Below on Earth's charred altar
Piny incense is placed
As a last sad rite
By the passing forest."

It is useless to multiply quotations, for neither the remarks of a critic nor the study of passages taken out of their context can help one to understand the beauty of a piece of literature. On the whole it may be said that for the genuine lover of poetry this book will have a charm of its own and will never fail to attract the discerning reader.

NIRMAL KUMAR SIDDHANTA.

THE PURANAS by K. Raghurama Dandiliya, pp. 32. Travancore.

This pamphlet on the *Puranas* aims to popularise the recondite results of investigation of scholars into the subject. The object is laudable, especially in this

age of pseudo-specialisation. But the method adopted for the realisation of that object is far from satisfactory. As a popular treatise it is too much encumbered with quotations from authorities and pedantic digressions. As a scientific monograph it is too narrow in its range of survey and too hasty in its ambitious generalisations: "History is the biography of Society", "History is the anatomy of the nation"—such catching reflections are scattered indiscriminately all over the paper, without any attempt to bring out their real significance with reference to the Pauranic literature of Ancient India. As an instance of reckless historical comparison we quote the wild parallelism suggested between the Indian sage Vyasa and the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus. The writer betrays his ardour in social reform. He easily detects "pious frauds and interpolations in" the Puranas. But he forgets that the attitude of a historian towards historic materials is something very different from the attitude of a social reformer using those materials for his propaganda. History is not a "Book of Quotations" for platform preachers. It is a Book of Life—throbbing, pulsating, evolving life. Every historic material must be approached in that sacred detachment of spirit and deep *Sraddha* without which Life never reveals its deepest Truth.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY.

A CHALLENGE TO ALL GOD-BELIEVERS OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

GOD-MYTH : WHAT IT LEADS TO. *Pamphlets of the Deva Samaj.*

Trash.

VEDANTA AND THE THREE POLICIES by N. Subramanya Aiyar, M.A. Pp. 4. Reprinted from the *Vedanta Kesari*.

Not worth reading.

LECTURES ON (i) RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS AND (ii) NATIONAL EDUCATION by R. Sivaramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., L.T. Published by E. R. S. Aiyer & Bros, Nagercoil. Pp. 16.

Good Lectures.

THE SANATANA DEFENCE SERIES NO. 1 by G. Haris Chandra Row, Cocanada. Pp. 64. Price 4 annas.

A defence of Idolatry.

REPORT OF THE ALL-INDIA COW CONFERENCE held on 30th and 31st December, 1917, in Calcutta.

The object of the Association is noble. Those who wish to be members of the Association may write to the Honorary Secretary, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

THE SUJNA GOKULJI TALA VEDANT PRIZE 1915 by M. T. Televala, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. 96. Price not known.

It discusses how far Sankaracharya truly represents the view of the author of the *Brahmasutra*. A masterly essay. Criticism sober, unbiassed and scholarly. Should be carefully studied by all the students of the *Brahmasutra*. Our complaint is—it is so brief.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS : VOL. XXI.
(Nos. 100-108; October 1917 to June 1918)
Yajnavalkya Smṛiti, Mitakshara and Balamhatta.
Book I. Achara Adhyaya, Translated by Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu Vidyaratna. Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. XX+440. Price Rs. 14. (Annual Subscription Rs. 12. 12 annas; Foreign £1.)

The book contains :

- (i) a preface by the translator.
- (ii) an introduction.
- (iii) a translation of the Smṛiti.
- (iv) a translation of the Mitakshara.
- (v) a translation of the gloss of Balamhatta.
- (vi) notes by the translator.

The Smṛiti of Yajnavalkya is divided into three adhyayas, viz.—Achara adhyaya, Vyavahara adhyaya and Prayaschitta adhyaya. This volume contains the whole of the first adhyaya which contains 13 chapters and 368 stanzas.

The commentary translated in this book is that of Vijnaneswara and is called Riju-Mitakshara, but is commonly known as Mitakshara. Of all the commentaries it is considered to be the best.

The gloss of Balamhatta professes to have been written by a lady but according to some scholars it was not the lady but her husband that was the real author of the gloss. This gloss is a wonderful production—vast, erudite and encyclopedic in character. In this book a free translation of the gloss has been given and in some places it has been abridged or omitted.

The introduction has been written by Mr. Ranendra Nath Basu, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Allahabad. In a foot note he writes :—

"My father, the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna, intended to write an elaborate introduction to his translation of the Achara adhyaya..... With this object in view, he jotted down notes in one of his note books. Unfortunately good many of these notes are in shorthand in which he was an adept. It is almost impossible to decipher these notes.

However from some of the notes and from his conversation with me, I have prepared this paper which, I hope, will be useful to those interested in the study of the Hindu Law. It is not for me to say what Sanskrit scholarship has lost by his untimely death. How critically and carefully he studied Hindu Law is evident from his judgment in the well-known Benares Caste-case. Well-versed in Arabic, Greek and Latin, he had, in contemplation, to write on the influence of Muhammadanism and Roman Law on Hindu Jurisprudence."

Whatever he has written, bears testimony to his patience, indefatigable labor and deep scholarship. His Ashtadhyayi and Siddhanta Kaumudi are monumental works; but for his translations, these would have remained sealed books to many of the Sanskrit students. In the literary world the loss of such a scholar is a calamity and it is irreparable.

The book under review is a scholarly production. Every one who takes an interest in our Smṛitis should read this book; to lawyers it is indispensable.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF M. K. GANDHI.
Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras. Price Re. 1-8. Pp. 296.

We are grateful to our valiant countryman Mr.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi for the manly stand he always takes for defending the rights of Indians, and the usefulness of a collection of his speeches and writings in a handy form cannot be gainsaid. His speeches and writings unlike those of many other prominent Indians always carry conviction with them and as such they deserve to be widely circulated to wake up the comatose Indians. There are many portraits in the volume, chief among them being those of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Tolstoy, G. K. Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, H. S. L. Polak and C. F. Andrews.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF DR. (SIR) S. SUBRAMANIA IYER, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION by D. V. Gundappa. Part I. Published by S. R. Murthy & Co., Triplicane, Madras, S. E. Pp. 424. Price not mentioned.

People all over India are anxious to learn more of the author of this volume who has, by renouncing his titles, shown a courage and a deep sense of self-respect rare in these days of servile timidity. The bold declaration of his faith has amply proved his devotion to and love for the motherland and no Indian should lose this opportunity of acquainting himself with the life-story and achievements of this wonderful man. The book is neatly got up and well printed on good paper. There are three portraits of the author in the volume under notice.

SPEECHES OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, PART I. Edited and Published by R. R. Srivastava from the National Book Depot, Fyzabad. Pp. 194. Price not mentioned.

Lokmanya Tilak has numerous admirers amongst all classes of Indians and there is no doubt his speeches will find ready welcome. The printing and paper are good and there is an excellent portrait of the author.

MAHOMED ALI JINNAH: AN AMBASSADOR OF UNITY. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Pp. 324. Price not mentioned.

Neat get up and printing form a regular feature of all publications of Messrs. Ganesh & Co., of Madras, and the present volume under review is no exception to the rule. The speeches and writings of Mahomed Ali Jinnah cover a wide field ranging from addresses delivered at the Moslem and Home Rule Leagues and Bombay Provincial Conference to discussions of subjects which affect the civic and other rights of Indians such as 'Indian Students in England', 'Protest Against Internments', 'The Congress-League Scheme', 'The Anglo-Indian Agitation', 'Elementary Education Bill', 'Indian Defence Force Bill', 'Simultaneous Examinations', etc. A biographical appreciation by Sarojini Naidu and a foreword by the Hon'ble Rajah of Mahmudabad enhance the value of the book. An excellent portrait of the author forms the frontispiece.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. SECOND EDITION. Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras. Pp. 1293+184+A—P+xxvii. Cloth Bound. Price Rupees four only.

This bulky volume contains an account of the origin and growth of the Congress with full text of all the Presidential Addresses, reprint of all the Congress Resolutions, extracts from all the Welcome Addresses, notable utterances on the movement and portraits of all the Congress Presidents. Publicists and public men will find this book useful as a book of reference.

S.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT, by V. Venkatasubbaiya and Vaikunth L. Mehta. Pp. 191, price Re. 1.

This is No. 4 of the series of political pamphlets brought out under the auspices of the Servants of India Society and written by its members. This number fully maintains the high standard of excellence attained by the three previous publications of the Society, and forms a valuable and up-to-date contribution to the co-operative literature of India. The book is divided into two parts: The first part deals with the growth of the co-operative movement in India and in foreign countries; the second part discusses the various forms of co-operative societies and their organisation, finance, and management. The Report of the MacLagan Committee on Co-operation is criticised and the latest developments of the movement and its extension into fields hitherto untapped are fully indicated.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR FINANCES: A paper read before the Bengal Social Service League on the 18th April, 1918, by Sir Daniel Hamilton.

Sir Daniel Hamilton's robust faith in the benefits of co-operation to an agricultural community like India reminds one forcibly of Sir Horace Plunkett. He finds in it the regeneration not only of Indian agriculture but of the whole social and economic life of the country. After listening to Sir Daniel or reading his addresses one can hardly resist the impression that here is a man of the type of which prophets and great reformers are made, with enthusiasm enough to move a nation and faith enough to carry a cause to victory. The present address, like others delivered by Sir Daniel, is adorned with numerous *bons mots*. Speaking of the efficacy of the Usury Act, he exclaims: "Will the new Usury Act kill the Kabuli? No, the Kabuli bamboo will kill the Act." The *chamar* today "works hard for the Kabuli, and drinks hard for the Government." The Indian *mahajan* also comes in for his due share. "The Collector of the 24-Pargannas is not my friend Mr. W. D. Prentice, I.C.S., but Ramcharan, the *mahajan*." "You may have no dealings with the *mahajan*, but he has many dealings with you, for it is he who keeps so many of you out of employment." "Government must look to the *mahajan* and to increased production, rather than to increased taxation for its revenue." "It is not the Government money that the people want so much as Government's help to take care of its own." Sir D. Hamilton has not much faith in the future of Sir S. P. Sinha's Village Self-Government Act, because, he says, "I have not yet met a Bengalee or Scotsman who would tax himself." One would like to see Sir Daniel given a free hand in carrying out his project of a Co-operative Commonwealth for India.

P. C. BANERJI.

A MODERN PHERIX—This play by Gertrude Baronti is published by the Cornhill Company, Boston.

It is a protest against the conventional bringing up of children according to the old standards of what is conventionally right and what is conventionally wrong. Lottie, the heroine, is betrayed by Philip who tempts her to go with him and then casts her off. Peter who has loved her all along then marries her and so the play ends. There is a wonderful doctor who comes in, called Dr. Von Blatz, who has discovered the principles of mental therapeutics and says many wise things.

The ideas expressed in the play are excellent, but

the whole structure of the plot appears to have its origin in the author's desire to teach certain principles, rather than in a natural growth of human lives and characters. It is thus didactic through and through, and the artificiality of this comes out most prominently in Dr. Von Blatz's speeches. On the other hand Lottie's character rings true and we feel that she is a real woman.

The play is of interest as showing the confusion that now exists in American life as to the ultimate truths, and the noble struggle that is being made by high minded men and women to rise out of that confusion.

C. F. A.

GUJARATI.

DHARMDESHNA (धर्मदेशना) by Jainacharya Shri Vijayadharma Suri, printed at the Vidyavijaya Printing Press, Bhavnagar, cloth bound, pp. 312. Unpriced. 1918.

Shri Vijayadharma Suri is known as a prolific and facile Jain writer. This is the Second Edition of a book which he wrote several years ago on the precepts of religion. He has embellished the work with apt and popular illustrations, so that the reader can fully appreciate the force of his advice. It is not a sectarian work, that must be said to its credit.

AHINSA (अहिंसा) by Muniraj Shri Vidyavijayaji, printed at the Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. Paper cover, pp. 64. Price Re. 0-8-0. 1918.

The Muniraj has tried to prove by means of several extracts taken from our religious works that the killing of animals, both for the name of religion and for food, is prohibited by our shastras. It is very problematical to say as to what influence one such feeble voice would carry in the stoppage of the daily holocaust being offered up in India and elsewhere.

K. M. J.

URDU.

TARIKH-E-UNAN (HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE) by Syed Hashmi Faridabadi: Anjuman-e-Tarraqqi-e-Urdu Series No. 22. Pp. 252. 8vo. (8×5½). Rupees two. To be had from the Secretary, Anjuman-e-Tarraqqi-e-Urdu, Aurangabad (Deccan).

It appears that we are at last beginning to recognise in India that curriculum is no ancestral legacy, but is to be determined by the object education has in view. If we wish to awaken in the rising generations of this country worthy ideals which shall make it impossible for them to accept slave morality and to settle into dead indifference about matters touching their communal and national life, we should reform the curriculum accordingly.

The text books should be inspirational. They should aim at political freedom and social equality and should satisfy all the requirements of free personality. They should retemper the spirit of Indians and give stimulus to national life.

The *Tarikh-e-Unan* (History of Ancient Greece), under review, is such a text-book. Mr. Syed Hashmi Faridabadi seems to realise how a class-room text should help to develop the sense of political freedom among young students and give them ideas of public good and true service of motherland. Like Herbert he knows the psychological relation between history and education. "Bewegliche und lenksame Kraefte, die jedoch unter Umstaenden eine bestimmte,

Form und allmählich einen dauerhaften charakter gewinnen sind die voraussetzungen der Pädagogik und der Politik."

History can be made to repeat itself. Its events are the effect of the interplay of human social laws and the natural and other conditions of environment. Korkunow, the great Russian theorist of law, has, in his book, no passage more pregnant with truth than wherein he says "By studying the organization of another people and its political development a given society can bring about the formation of a political ideal like that of such other people." The author knows this and holds up the Greek ideal of liberty before the gaze of students. His narrative at occasions thrills the readers with the spirit that won at Marathon, Salamis and Platae. He has found his model in the author of *Anabasis* himself.

Mr. Syed Hashmi Faridabadi is a sober student of Greek History. He possesses the faculty of Historical reflection to an eminent degree and does not consider history to be a mere record of chance happenings. His method is comparative. When he brings us face to face with great events in the rise and fall of Greece and introduces us to men who made and unmade Athens and Sparta, he is all the time comparing, finding analogies and drawing conclusions.

He has carefully read George Grote, John Mahaffy and other great writers of Hellenic history and has investigated all such other sources as were open to him in a liberal spirit. He has been at great pains in finding out the real names of the Persian kings and satraps, which occur in Greek history. European writers are used to the Greek forms of these names introduced into history by Herodotus, Xenophon

and others. Even Rawlinson, 'who' may have been expected to throw the light of his research upon them, is silent on the subject. Syed Hashmi Faridabadi has looked up all the Persian and Arabic histories of Persia and has gone to Agha Mirza Jehangir Khan Shirazi whose monumental history of Persia has helped him most in his investigations. Thus we find that Arabaces is Kaiqubad, Cyaxares is Siyawash, Cambyzes is Jamasp and Darius is Isfandayar.

The writer has a great admiration for Sparta. With one hand he would award the crown of gold to Athens and with the other the crown of iron to its rival state. Living as we do in the "iron age" of modern civilization it is not difficult to sympathise with his appreciation of the Peloponnesian discipline. He has done good service in showing the Greco-Persian wars in their true perspective. In spite of the free use of their imagination by the Hellenists it was after all the mere glory of the war that was of European Greece—the victory was of Asiatic Persia.

The style of the writer is facile and at occasions gravely eloquent. He has both insight and imagination and does not lose himself in generalizations. But his supreme quality is his patriotic ardour which, unless the teacher be a Polonius, is sure to kindle healthy enthusiasm of the desire for true liberty in the breasts of the students. The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu is to be congratulated on the production of this volume and should feel proud of its Secretary Moulvi Abdul Haq Sahib, whose magnetic personality has gathered such a band of distinguished men of letters round him.

A. R. S.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Calcutta University Affairs.

In your Note on Calcutta University Affairs, in the August number of the Modern Review, you make certain remarks as to why the resolutions which Sir Ashutosh wanted to move at the meeting of the Senate held on 29th June 1918, were ruled out of order. You say, that the motions were ruled "out of order for no other reason that we can see than they were moved by Sir Ashutosh." Presumably you had not read the full text of the Vice-Chancellor's speeches on that occasion, where the arguments for ruling the motions out of order, are set forth in detail. I quote the following passages from the minutes of the Senate held on 29th June 1918, so that your readers can form their own opinion on the question.

"The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor: The motion in paragraph 7* in my opinion is out of order..... The letter which embodies this motion.....begins in the following terms: 'I hereby give notice that at the next meeting of the Senate, I shall bring forward the following motion.' Members of the Senate are aware that a matter must come up before the Syndicate before it is placed before the Senate. Further looking at paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of

Chapter IV of the Regulations, it is clear to my mind that the procedure as to proposing a new regulation is as follows: The Syndicate may from time to time recommend to the Senate such regulations as may seem desirable. Paragraph 14 provides 'Any faculty, or any member or number of members of the Senate may make any recommendation to the Syndicate and may propose any Regulation for the consideration of the Syndicate.' Therefore the first step is to propose for the consideration of the Syndicate any new regulation. Then it is open to any member of the Senate to move that the Senate approve, revise or modify any decision of the Syndicate in respect thereof or may direct the Syndicate to review it. The letter in question is not a motion to approve, revise or modify a decision of the Syndicate. On the contrary it is a notice that the honourable and learned member will move the new regulation at the next Senate meeting. This is not in order."

"I suggest that the honourable member should place his motion before the Senate at a subsequent meeting after adopting the proper procedure."

"Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee.—Upon the question of order we may take it that for whatever reason it may be, this motion has not as a matter of fact, been considered by the Syndicate."

* This embodies a new regulation.

"The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor: It was put before the Syndicate but having regard to the form in which the motion was made, the Syndicate were of opinion that they could do nothing except to put it on the Agenda paper for the next meeting of the Senate."

The following relates to the other resolution which was also ruled out of order:—

"The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor: I regret that in my opinion this motion is out of order. If a member of the Senate wishes to move a resolution in connection with the proceedings of the Syndicate, he can do one of three things, namely, either ask the Senate to approve, revise or modify such decision, or a fourth thing, that is, to ask the Senate to direct the Syndicate to review it. This motion is not in accordance with the procedure indicated. On the contrary, it is a motion that the Senate should give certain directions with regard to the granting of certificates. It does not refer to any resolution of the Senate."

"This is not a pure question of form. The members of the Senate are entitled to know beforehand what the resolution of the Syndicate is, in respect of which they are asked by any member of the Senate to vote on the question, that it be approved, revised, modified or sent back to the Syndicate for review."

In connection with the above, the following facts are pertinent:—(1) That the resolutions which Sir Ashutosh wanted to move were based on a resolution of the Syndicate, passed at their meeting on 7th June, 1918.

(2) That the Syndicate's resolution was confirmed at their meeting of the 14th June, 1918.

(3) That the minutes of the Syndicate of the 7th June, after confirmation, were circulated to the members, and those residing in Calcutta received them by the 20th June and mufasil members later.

(4) That the letter of Sir Ashutosh, written from Darjeeling, was dated 11th June, 1918.

It is evident, therefore, that Sir Ashutosh sent his letter long before he received the minutes. He may have received the information of the said resolution through some secret agent. Herein lies his mistake. I might remark that the receipt of the minutes, by the members of the Senate, within 6 days of its confirmation is a thing which was unheard of during the regimes of Sir Ashutosh or Sir Devaprasad and has become possible during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Lancelot with the assistance of the present able and energetic Officiating Registrar.

With regard to your remarks on the present Vice-Chancellor I may say that I yield to none in my admiration for Sir Ashutosh but at the same time I would not allow my bias for his exceptional abilities

to get the upper hand of my sense of justice and fairness to others. Opinions may vary as to the comparative merits of Sir Lancelot and Sir Ashutosh as regards their knowledge of law and of the affairs of the University; as also as to their capability of conducting public meetings. It is not impossible that there may be another lawyer and hard-working man like Sir Ashutosh.

Lastly about your query as to why certain individuals who were admitted to the meeting as visitors after obtaining the permission of the Registrar were asked to withdraw. It was because the meeting decided that certain business was to be transacted in private when the press and the public were asked to withdraw,—not an unusual procedure.

D.

Editorial Note.—Our Note on "Calcutta University Affairs" in the last number was based on what had appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Bengalee* and remained uncontradicted at the time of our writing;—probably no contradiction has yet (Aug. 19) appeared in those papers. We had no other source of information. From the extracts made from the University Minutes by our correspondent, it would seem that the present Vice-Chancellor's ruling regarding both the motions of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji was correct, and our comments were, therefore, wrong. The comparison made in our Note between Sir Ashutosh and the present Vice-Chancellor was also unfair and uncalled for.

As regards the plea that visitors were excluded because certain business was to be transacted in private, we cannot say whether it is satisfactory unless we know what the business was. There is often great divergence between official and popular opinion as to what ought to be kept secret and what not.

Buffalo Sacrifice and Buffalo Eating.

On page 170 of the *Modern Review* for August 1918 the following lines appeared: 'No Indian, except the Bengali and the Nepalese, sacrifices a buffalo to a goddess and no Indian except the Bengali and Nepalese of certain castes eats its flesh.' This general proposition is too sweeping and obviously wrong. The Rajput clans on the side of the Bombay Presidency do sacrifice buffaloes to the Goddess Kali, their deity, especially on Dashera holidays. If the word Indian includes aboriginal tribes, the Bhils of this Presidency do eat the flesh of sacrificed buffaloes.

Nyayadish Court
Dengad Baria,
Bombay Presidency.

CHUNILAL C. PAREKH,
B.A., LL.B.

THE MILK-SUPPLY OF CALCUTTA

BY CHUNILAL BOSE, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

CHIEF SOURCES AND QUANTITY.

THE supply of fresh milk for the town of Calcutta may be stated to come from three principal sources. About 300 maunds are daily brought into the City by

the E. B. S. Railway at Sealdah and about 100 maunds jointly by the E. I. and the B. N. Railways at Howrah. About another 300 maunds reach the town from its northern and southern suburban areas

and of these two, the area including Chit-pore, Cossipore and Dum Dum situated in the northern suburbs of Calcutta is the more important. The third source of supply is in the City itself, i.e., in the gowala bustees and in the few dairies and in private houses situated within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Municipality.

Five years ago, Dr. Pierce, the then Health Officer of Calcutta, estimated that about 2000 maunds of fresh milk formed the average daily consumption of Calcutta. One-third of this was brought into the City by the different railways and carriers by foot, another third was produced in the town itself in the licenced cow-sheds and dairies, and the rest obtained from cows kept in private houses ostensibly for the use of the owners, but sometimes really for sale of milk without coming into the notice of the authorities.

It is very difficult to obtain even approximately accurate figures for the total consumption of milk in Calcutta and the quantity obtainable from each of the above-mentioned sources, but one thing is quite clear that an efficient official control can be kept only on the quantity that reaches the town by railways, and that it is very difficult to check the supply brought into the City by itinerant vendors who come from many directions and by numberless pathways. It is still more difficult to calculate the quantity produced in private houses which roughly constitutes, according to Dr. Pierce, about the third of the whole supply of the town. This shows that a very large quantity of milk is produced and consumed in Calcutta under conditions which are practically outside the control of the Health Department of the City.

Taking the population of Calcutta to be 900,000, the average daily consumption of milk per head in the City roughly comes to about one-twelfth of a seer, i.e., about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces which appears to be rather a low estimate. As adults form the bulk of the floating population of Calcutta and as they, except in certain communities, generally use very little milk, partly from habit but mostly from inability to buy such a costly article of food, the consumption of the bulk of the milk is confined to children and invalids, and to one's regret, its quality does not come up to the mark.

MILK : COW'S AND BUFFALO'S.

The milk as we get it in Calcutta is

derived partly from cows and partly from buffaloes. Almost every gowala in the City and in the suburbs keeps a few she-buffaloes along with cows and he sells the milk obtained from this source sometimes as buffalo-milk, but more often, diluted with water and with or without admixture of cow's milk, as cow's milk of pure quality. The average quantity of milk given by a Bengal cow is about a quarter of that obtained from a she-buffalo, and as the fat in the buffalo-milk is nearly double of that in the cow's milk, it admits of considerable dilution with water before it falls below the standard of pure milk ordinarily accepted in this country. Buffalo-milk may indeed be diluted half and half with water and still the minimum limit of fat, viz., 3 per cent. will not be transgressed. Thus the gowala makes a very large profit by selling buffalo-milk considerably diluted with water as pure cow's milk. I shall have to say something about the difference in the composition of the two kinds of milk when I come to discuss the minimum standard values of purity of milk.

PURITY OF THE SUPPLY.

The present milk-supply of Calcutta, to describe it in the mildest terms, is most unsatisfactory. It is not only poor in quality, but it is exposed to so many unfavourable conditions during production and transport that it is an absolutely unsafe article of food for the public unless certain precautions are taken to make it harmless.

According to the social organisation of the Hindus, the gowalas or Ahirs (as they are called in Behar and in the U. P.) form a separate caste which is a complete unit by itself in all its social relations and obligations. They rear cattle and are responsible for the supply of all milk and most, if not all, milk-products to the community. This confinement of different trades to different castes of the community has no doubt undergone some change with the spread of English education in town areas, but in the far off village communities all over India, the state of things prevails almost in its primitive condition. It is, however, not uncommon to find nowadays people of one caste following the occupation of another, and now and then, we meet with educated men of higher castes starting dairies and selling

milk and milk-products as a means of living. The gowalas, however, still hold practically the whole milk-supply of the country under their control.

The trade-honesty of the gowalas has never been of a high order. Some of them openly declare that they would be infringing their caste-rules if they would sell milk without admixture with water, however small the quantity may be. There is a very amusing story told of this class of people which I ask your permission to relate. A certain Indian king wanted to test the honesty of the milkmen living in his capital and issued an order that on a certain night every gowala should supply him with a pitcher of pure milk which he required for some religious ceremony fixed for the next morning. It was so arranged that each milkman bringing his supply would pour it into a pipe leading to a reservoir placed inside a locked room so that nobody could see, touch or pollute it. The night was dark and each gowala brought in his quota and poured it into the reservoir. In the morning when the room was unlocked, the king found that the reservoir contained pure and simple water and no milk in it. It so happened that each gowala thought, with the characteristic mentality of his caste, that as others were sure to obey the order of the king and bring pitchers of pure milk, he would be quite safe if he brought a pitcher of water only and pour it into the common reservoir, and the king would not be able to detect the trick. The story illustrates what class of people we have to depend upon for the supply of one of the vital necessities of life and it will be long before we can expect to see any material change in their psychological condition.

The condition of things in other countries, though not so bad as in India, is nevertheless far from satisfactory. In spite of the advance of education, the vigilance of sanitary authorities, the strict operation of the Food and Drugs Act and the influence of a strong public opinion, much of the milk as supplied in England, is hardly of the desirable quality. This has recently been the subject of enquiry by high sanitary authorities and the result is not very encouraging. It is as much a question of adulteration there as of sanitary purity, and Dr. Savage remarks that "the idea that the average cow-keeper will, of his own accord and

without outside pressure, supply clean milk instead of a manure-laden one, cannot be seriously entertained." The final plea taken by milkmen is the same here as elsewhere, viz., that they produce milk in the same condition as their fathers did and that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them also. The sophistication of milk, although it is not such a universal practice compared with India, prevails to a notable extent even in England.

I have had occasion to examine samples of milk supplied to some of the Government hospitals in Calcutta and Howrah and I am glad to say that it has improved during recent years. Whereas the percentage of samples of adulterated milk supplied to some of the hospitals was 83.6 in 1913, the figure for 1916 was 37.6, and in 1917, all the samples analysed were found to be of good quality. This is very satisfactory, as milk forms a most important diet for the sick, but unfortunately the same cannot be said regarding supply of milk for the general population of Calcutta. The figures of analysis made in the laboratory of the Calcutta Corporation will give you a fairly accurate idea of the quality of milk supplied to the public of Calcutta. I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr. S. B. Ghose, Chief Analyst to the Corporation, for his kindly supplying me with the figures I am going to place before you.

TABLE I.

Year.	Number of samples examined.	Percentage of adulterated samples (watered).
1913	593	40.8
1914	496	50.0
1915	490	40.2
1916	403	26.0
1917	436	40.6

The samples were collected by Food Inspectors from the different stalls for the sale of milk in the town as well as from the quantity brought by railways and itinerant vendors. The above table gives you information regarding the number and quality of the samples of milk analysed in the Corporation Laboratory during the last 5 years. It must be stated here that a sample of milk is pronounced to be of good quality when it contains not less than 3 percent of fat. Now, 3

percent of fat, in my opinion, is too low a standard of purity for milk yielded by Indian cows and many adulterated samples would pass as pure if judged by this minimum standard of purity. I shall have occasion to discuss later on this point when I consider the question of standards. During 1905 and 1906, altogether 521 samples were examined in the Municipal Laboratory, and of these, 78 samples, i.e., only 15 percent were found to be free from adulteration. The rest were mixed with water varying from 10 to 80 percent. From the above table, it will, however, be seen that the percentage of adulterated samples examined at the Municipal Laboratory from 1913 to 1917 varied from 26 to 50. This shows an apparent improvement in the milk-supply of the town as compared with some of the previous years. It must, however, be borne in mind that during the last 5 years, some limitation, I am told, had to be placed on the collection of samples; for during this period, the gowalas began to take advantage of the loop-hole in the Municipal Act of Calcutta and disposed of a good many samples declaring them as "watered milk", and consequently, these were not collected. The lower percentage of samples found adulterated does not, therefore, necessarily indicate that there has been in fact an improvement in the quality of the milk sold in Calcutta.

Recently, during a visit of the Chairman of the Corporation to the Jorasanko milk-market, he found that apparently good milk was being sold there at $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee. This was on the occasion of an important Hindu festival when the price of milk and milk-products always goes up very high. Under his orders, 48 samples of the best milk available were collected from the different milk-stalls in Calcutta (Jorasanko, Baitakhana, Sealdah, New Market and a few other places) and analysed in the Municipal laboratory. It was found that the average percentage of fat in the samples obtained from Jorasanko was 4.9, from the New Market 4.2, and from other places, a little above 5 percent. From the remarks of the Health Officer on the samples thus collected, it appears that good milk could be had at times at Jorasanko even at 8 seers for the rupee, at Baitakhana, six seers and at the New Market, $4\frac{1}{2}$ seers, and that during the time of Hindu festivals, the price goes up

very high, specially at Jorasanko, milk being sometimes sold there at eight annas per seer. It is difficult to believe that pure milk could be had in Calcutta at any time at more than 4 seers per rupee and the price is often higher. It may be that when the supply is much above the demand in these markets, milk, being a perishable article, could be had at cheaper rates occasionally. One might reasonably conclude from the high percentage of fat found in many of these samples (about 5 per cent) that the milk sold in some of these markets is chiefly buffalo milk diluted with water.

BACTERIOLOGICAL EXAMINATION.

A very large number of samples were also bacteriologically examined. In the most favourable circumstances, freshly drawn milk does not show more than 500 bacteria in 1 cubic centimeter. Under ordinary conditions, however, the number of bacteria is much larger but they ought not to exceed 6000 in 1 C.C. The number of bacteria found in 1 C.C. of milk sold in market places in Calcutta varied from 1,000,00 to over 3,000,000 and the bacilli of the Colon group (which indicate contamination with faecal matter) were found to be present even in as small a quantity as $\frac{1}{1000}$ part of 1 C.C. This shows the dangerous character of the milk-supply of Calcutta as a carrier of such infectious diseases as enteric fever, cholera, dysentery, etc. As regards tubercle bacilli, their presence was rarely detected.

PROPERTIES OF MILK.

Milk is the secretion of the breast of female mammals for the nourishment of their offspring. It may be considered as the most "perfect" of all foods, as it contains all the nutritive principles, viz., proteid, fat, carbo-hydrate, salts and water in proper proportions for the growth and sustenance of young animals for a certain period of their existence. It is a white opalescent liquid, sometimes with a tinge of yellow, denser than water with which it is perfectly miscible. The density of pure cow's milk varies from 1.029 to 1.034 (the density of water being taken as 1). It is decreased by being mixed with water and increased by abstracting cream from or by adding sugar to it. All these practices are resorted to by artful gowalas to get adulterated milk pass for pure milk. Its whiteness is due to fat in fine division being

suspended in water. If you examine a drop of milk under the microscope, you will see innumerable small rounded globules of fat of varying sizes covering the whole field. It has got a feeble alkaline reaction and in the case of certain animals, it possesses a faint odour of the particular animal yielding the milk.

When fresh milk is allowed to stand for sometime in a cool place, a thick yellowish layer is found to float on the surface which mostly consists of the fat of the milk mixed with a certain amount of its nitrogenous constituents. This is what is called "cream", and when removed, the milk becomes much poorer in quality, and such milk is known as "separated" or "skimmed" milk. The gowalas take full advantage of this property of milk. They draw the milk generally at 3 o'clock in the morning and allow it to stand for 2 or 3 hours in a cool place and then, after removing the separated cream and adding a little water, sell the milk to their customers as pure milk. The fraud cannot be detected by the Lactometer (an instrument for determining the density of milk) which is the only instrument in the hands of the householder to test the purity of the sample. The removal of cream raises the density of the milk and the addition of a little water brings it down again to normal density. Thus the indication of the Lactometer in such a case is valueless. Skimmed milk, when not watered, cannot strictly be called "adulterated", but it is not genuine milk and the sale of it as pure milk brings the vendor within the penalty of the law.

We shall limit our consideration to cow's and buffalo's milk only in this paper. The following table gives a comparative average composition of the two kinds of milk and shows at a glance the enormous difference in their fat-constituents.

TABLE II.

Kind of Milk.	PERCENTAGE.				
	Water.	Proteid (Casein)	Fat (Butter)	Carbo-hydrate (Milk sugar)	Salts (Mineral matter).
Cow's	86.4	4.0	4.5	4.4	0.70
Buffalo's	81.8	4.52	8.2	4.6	0.88

From the above table, it will be seen that there is about 13.6 per cent. of solid

matter in cow's milk and nearly one-third of it is fat. In buffalo's milk, the solid matter is much larger, being about 18.2 per cent and a little less than half of it is fat. I have already mentioned that much of the milk sold in Calcutta is buffalo-milk diluted with water, and if the purity of milk is judged on the sole consideration of the percentage of fat contained in it, the buffalo-milk may be diluted with more than equal part of water and may still be passed as pure cow's milk. Fortunately, other facts are taken into account to judge of the purity or otherwise of a sample and this enables one to detect the fraud and bring the offender to book.

ADULTERATION: NATURE OF ADULTERANTS.

I. The chief adulterant of milk is water, and if the water so added is from a dirty tank or well, the quality of milk not only deteriorates but it often becomes the carrier of dangerous infectious diseases. This mostly applies to milk brought into the town from outside which constitutes about one-third of the whole supply of Calcutta.

II. Cow's milk is also largely mixed with buffalo's milk, watered, and then sold as cow's milk. This kind of milk forms a very large proportion of the total milk-supply of Calcutta.

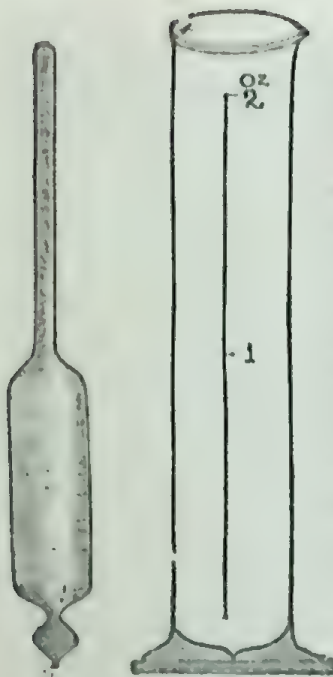
III. Part of the fat in the milk is abstracted in the form of cream, the density of milk thus raised is reduced to normal by addition of requisite quantity of water and the milk then sold as pure milk.

VI. The most common method of adulteration is to water the milk and then raise the lowered density by adding brown sugar to it in the form of sugar-cakes (Batasa). You will see this being practiced by the gowalas in the streets of Calcutta every morning on their way to the houses of the customers. This kind of adulteration baffles detection by Lactometer.

V. It is believed that watered milk is sometimes thickened with some kind of cheap starch or chalk, but such fraud is not often practised.

DETECTION OF ADULTERATION.

Without going into the details of milk-analysis, I propose to briefly mention a few practical tests which would go to help the householder to ascertain roughly the purity or otherwise of the sample supplied to him.



Lactometer.

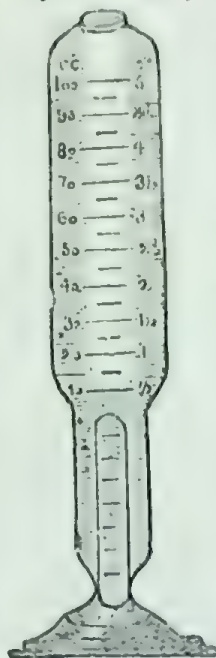
The instrument most commonly used for testing the quality of milk by the householder is the Lactometer. In the case of pure milk, when the instrument is allowed to float in the fluid, the surface of the milk should be on a line with the lowest mark "M" on the stem of the instrument, or very near it. The higher marks, viz., 3, 2 and 1 (or $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$) roughly indicate 25, 50 and 75 percent respectively of water added to the milk.

A little correction is needed for the tem-

perature of the milk, as the instrument has been standardised at a definite temperature, but it is hardly necessary, for, after all, it is a rough method and the reading gives sufficiently accurate information for all practical purposes. Our gowalas, however, know all about the Lactometer and they adulterate their commodity in such a way that the indication of the instrument becomes perfectly valueless. On removing some cream from the milk, the "M" mark rises above the surface and by adding water until the "M" touches again the surface of the milk, the gowala sells his adulterated commodity as pure milk without fear of detection by the Lactometer. In such a case, however, the milk becomes thinner and any experienced eye would find out the fraud. Then again, if the milk is watered and then some sugar is added to it, the density is raised and such milk would also defy the test by the Lactometer. The fraud, however, could be detected by a simple test for cane-sugar which I shall presently describe.

There is another instrument called the Lactoscope, which gives direct information about the percentage of fat in the milk. The instrument is so graduated that

if you take just sufficient milk to fill up the lower space and then add water until certain black marks on the porcelain stem fixed in the centre become just visible, the percentage of fat in the sample is indicated by the figure against which the surface of the diluted milk rests. This is a very handy instrument, much more reliable than the Lactometer and enables you to detect the watering of the milk or removal of cream from it.



Lactoscope.

For the detection of added cane-sugar in the milk, it may easily be found out by taking a little milk in a test tube, adding a small pinch of Resorcin and a small quantity of strong Hydrochloric acid and heating the test tube over a spirit-lamp, when, if cane-sugar is present, the milk would turn deep red. The apparatus required for this test are simple, viz., a test tube and a spirit-lamp only and the few chemicals could be got from any druggist's shop at a very small cost and they would keep for any length of time. The test is quite easy of application and helps to detect the fraud which is commonly practised by the gowalas.

If any kind of starch is added to the milk to thicken it, its presence could at once be detected by putting a drop of milk under the microscope and noticing its peculiar-sized striated granules. Starch can also be detected by boiling the milk and adding to the cooled milk a few drops of tincture of iodine; the development of blue colour would indicate the presence of starch.

Adding powdered chalk to milk to thicken it is a clumsy trick and could easily be detected by adding a few drops of Hydrochloric acid to the milk when it will froth.

Part of a paper read at a meeting of the Social Study Society, Calcutta.

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI

MATERIAL CONDITIONS.

JUST as the climate of Fiji is exceptionally good for Indians to live in, under normal conditions, so also the material prospects are exceptionally good, when once the abnormal conditions of indenture have been entirely removed. I propose, in this article, to state the facts as fully as I am able.

But since in a quite recent document, published and circulated by the Planters' Associations in Fiji, the indenture period itself has been spoken of as a time of comparative prosperity, it is necessary to explain clearly once more, as we did in our former Report, how this is by no means the case. On the contrary, a deliberate fraud has been practised, for a large number of years, in the contract itself made with the Indian labourers before they embarked. It is all the more necessary to recall this fact, at the present time, because there are some thousands of Indian labourers still under indenture, upon whom this fraud has already been used as a means to induce them to go out. Their lot to-day, during the war, is an exceptionally hard one.

The fraud consisted in this, that while dealing with ignorant and illiterate Indian peasants, the agents of the Fiji Government gave no information whatever about the food prices in Fiji. They used their superior intelligence to exploit the weak, and the Indian Government allowed this. The offer of twelve annas a day, which seemed a fortune to the simple-minded Indian peasant, was a pure fraud, and a cruel fraud at that. I have met many in Fiji who were earning four annas a day before they embarked and found it easier to make two ends meet in India, on that wage, than on their nominally higher wages in Fiji. This fraud when carried out on a large scale in the name of a responsible Government is quite inexcusable.

To make my meaning absolutely clear, let me work out the sum. The villager is told by the recruiter in India, that he will get twelve annas a day in Fiji, and he signs a contract with the Fiji Government before a magistrate to that effect. But the first thing he learns, in Fiji, is that he

will only get the promised wage, of twelve annas, on five and a half days out of the seven, because Sunday and half Saturday are not working days. This at once reduces twelve annas to $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day. He next learns that the prices of the necessities of life are some of them four times, some of them three times, and some of them twice as dear as in India. This reduces his $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas to 4 annas or thereabouts. The war time has enormously increased both the hardship and the cost of living in Fiji. Yet during the War itself this deliberate deception,—of offering twelve annas a day in India without any information as to the Fiji prices,—continued to be practised.

When Mr. W. W. Pearson and I reached the Fiji Islands in 1915, this was one of the very first subjects of our enquiry, and we went most carefully into each item of the cost of living. We immediately sent home to India the news of what was going on. In February 1916, on our return, we reported it to the Viceroy himself and to the Member of Council in charge of emigration. In March, 1916, the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya brought forward the question in the Imperial Council, and a pledge was given by the Government of India that, in future, so long as indenture lasted, the prices of food stuffs in Fiji should be inserted in the contract. This was no slight matter, for it would affect the life-choice of thousands of poor people, who were dependent on the Indian Government for their protection. The pledge, which the Indian Government gave, was quite public and explicit; no one ever dreamt, at the time, of its being broken.

Therefore it was a matter of extreme surprise to find, in March, 1917, that this engagement entered into by the Government of India had not been fulfilled, and that through the year 1916 Indian men and women had been recruited for Fiji on the old fraudulent terms. I do not know who was responsible for this refusal to carry out the Government of India's pledged word; but the consequences of

that refusal I witnessed, with my own eyes, when I landed in Fiji in the year 1917. Those who had recently come out under indenture, instead of getting in Fiji the equivalent of what they could purchase for twelve annas a day in India, (as they expected and had every right to expect, being simple, unlettered people), were living in the coolie 'lines' in an impoverished condition, with the war prices continually rising. One of these, a Madrasi, had attempted to commit suicide, by hanging himself, and gave evidence in Court that he could not bear to hear his children crying for food and yet have nothing to give them. During the first month, after my arrival in Fiji, I spent a considerable amount of time investigating this question. I went very carefully into the cost of living and checked all figures from independent sources, such as the retail store-keepers' prices. By going in and out among the Indian labourers it was easy to discount any exaggerations and to arrive at the true facts, which were palpable enough. I laid the information I had gathered before His Excellency, the Governor, who told me with some annoyance and surprise that it had not before been brought to his notice. The whole case was also placed before the Planters in the north of the main Island at their Association meetings, and it is a pleasure to record that, in a short time, after consultation with the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's representative, (who was visiting the Islands) an advance of 25% in wages was agreed upon. This undoubtedly saved the Indians, still under indenture, from very great hardship and compensated in some slight degree for the fraud which had been practised on them at the time of their recruitment. But it does not at all excuse the Indian Government for refusing to carry out its pledge.

I wish to add, at this point, that I met again and again, among the Planters, with individual instances of remarkable kindness towards their employees. Assistance was sometimes given them in the keeping of cows: at the cane-cutting season I have seen, on payment day, as much as 18 to 20 shillings a week earned, on piece work, by skilful indentured Indians; and various other privileges were allowed, which ameliorated the hard conditions of life. But these things were by no means universal, and there were not seldom cases of exactly the

opposite description,—such as the refusal to give any compensation for injuries received during work and the cutting of wages on every slight occasion, such as sickness, failure to finish the task, a summons to the court, excessive rain, or other causes. While the extra wages earned on piece work brought up the average, these deductions on the part of hard employers brought it down. Records are given by the Immigration Department as late as the year 1916 (the last Report received) of whole plantations where the average wage given per working day only amounted to nine pence instead of the standard minimum of one shilling, which was guaranteed to the indentured labourer.

These average wages in pence, per working day, for the whole colony (including all extra earnings as well as all cutting down of wages) may be seen as follows:

	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Men	12.24	12.29	12.55	12.52	12.90
Women	6.56	6.54	6.61	6.54	6.56

The rates may appear high at first sight, but all the facts which I have already mentioned must be taken into account with regard to the cost of living in Fiji.

During the time of my second visit, in 1917, the great Australian Strike was in operation for nearly three months and this very greatly increased the price of food-stuffs in Fiji, especially of flour. Extreme distress was experienced in consequence by the indentured labourers. In certain parts of the Island large crowds assembled to make their appeals to the magistrates and to state their grievances and hardships. I fully expected that some further relief would be given to the Indians in the coolie 'lines' in this their hour of greatest need; for this new rise in prices had far more than swallowed up the 25 per cent rise in wages. But in no direction could I see any attempt being made to meet the situation. It was a time, surely, when the enormous war profits which had been obtained by the Sugar Companies and the Planters, (and to a certain extent by the Fiji Government also) should have been shared with the indentured labourers. But nothing whatever was done.

To give some idea of the war-profiteering,—I asked the question point blank at a large Planters' meeting, whether it was true that more than £100,000 *extra* profits had been put into their pockets

owing to the War. The answer was 'yes,' and I was afterwards told by the highest authority that I had named much too low a figure. To these extra profits of the Planters must be added the far larger profits of such a great Company, as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company with its millions of capital invested. Yet not one fraction of all these immense war-profits had been distributed among the indentured labourers during the whole of the first three years of the War, though, all the while, the cost of living had been rising. Not only had there been no thought on the part of the Planters and the Companies of giving relief of their own accord, but the Fiji Government had been so supine as to acquiesce in this unfairness, although they stood in the position of protectors and guardians of Indian interests, and had themselves entered into a direct contract in India with them, being responsible for bringing them out.

The more carefully and thoroughly I have studied the situation, the more I have been brought to the conclusion that the present Fiji Government, whose financial prosperity is so closely bound up with the material interests of such a monopoly as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, cannot be expected to do full justice in the larger matters of Indian interest where they appear to clash with those of the C. S. R. Company. For this reason, as I shall advocate later, it would seem to me advisable that Fiji should come under Australia or New Zealand at the end of the war. While the Fiji Government does its best to relieve individual cases of hardship, and performs satisfactorily the functions of justice in respect to individuals, it is too weak and too local to hold its own under the pressure of such forces as those exercised by a giant monopoly such as the C. S. R. Co.

It has been with great reluctance, and after much hesitation, that I have felt myself obliged to write the above paragraph, which, I am well aware, is a contradiction of our earlier Report. I would wish it clearly to be understood that I hold as strongly as ever that the Government officials in Fiji are high-minded men, who wish to do justice, but I can no longer speak with the same confidence as I did in 1915 of their freedom from external pressure with regard to their larger judgments and actions. Examples

will be found, in the course of the present Report, which will help to explain the reason for my changed opinion. I should add, that I am regarding the matter, purely from the social, and not from the political standpoint.

It is necessary to record that I found far greater bitterness among the indentured Indians and greater hatred of the Englishman, as their oppressor, than I did on my former visit. In some districts which I visited, I had the impression that at any time this smouldering discontent might break out into a flame of revolt. I gathered from those who were likely to know best, that discontent among the Fijians was spreading very rapidly also.

An instructive incident happened quite recently in Fiji, which left a deep impression on the indentured Indians' minds, who heard the tale in an exaggerated form; indeed it was the subject of common talk in the coolie 'lines.' A ship-load of Chinese coolies was brought to Fiji, surreptitiously, under indenture, on the North side of the main Island. The wages offered were more than double those given to indentured Indians. But when the Chinese saw the coolie 'lines' and the conditions under which they were expected to live, their anger was so great that they mutinied on the spot.

"I thought," said one of the Company managers to me, "that they would have murdered the lot of us, they looked so ugly and threatening."

The sequel to the story is of great interest. The President of the Chinese National Association in Suva came over in person to the plantations and examined conditions on the spot. He agreed, after inspection, that the terms offered were degrading and made arrangements for the repatriation of his fellow-countrymen. Shortly after this, the Chinese National Association entered into correspondence with the Chinese Government asking the latter to prohibit indentured labour altogether.

Immediately on my arrival in Fiji, in June 1917, I was faced with the question of a direct breach of contract which the Fiji Government had committed on a large scale in relation to those under indenture. This breach of contract was admitted, but it was put down to the exigencies of the War. I received great help from Mr.

Manilal, of Rewa, in dealing with the legal aspects of this case. He pointed out to me that there could probably be no remedy obtained in a Court of Law; but, as a case for equity, some action should immediately be taken,—if possible by the Indian Government,—in order to aim at getting terms more favourable to the interests of the Indian labourers than those now obtaining.

The issue may be explained very briefly as follows:—

The Fiji Government gave a definite undertaking to each Indian labourer before embarkation for Fiji that his passage back to India should be provided for him free of cost. There are now already many thousands whose claims for a free return passage cannot be met on account of the shortage of shipping. The Fiji Government and the Sugar Companies have taken advantage of the labour of the Indians during the War to make immense profits out of the sugar, but they have themselves appropriated that part of the labourers' earnings which was to pay for their return passages. The Indian labourer notes that the great 'Sugar' steamers ply their trade as usual, but not one of these steamers can be spared to repatriate the labourers who have helped to grow the sugar. The funds go on accumulating in the Fiji Government treasury, while the distress is growing among the labourers. Thus the Government engagement with the Indian labourers has been directly and palpably broken, and the profits remain in the hands of the Fiji Administration.

This is the main factor in the breach of contract which has been committed. But there are other circumstances which must be taken into account; for they greatly aggravate the situation. They must be explained, in some detail, in order to make them quite clear:—

(1) *Commutation*. One of the very few privileges, which Indians had obtained in recent years, was the right of buying off a part of their five years' indenture by payment of a sum of money. This was called "commutation," and the right was very highly valued, especially in certain 'hard cases.' But one clause was inserted, in the Planters' interests, which is now being used against the labourers. The Planters had insisted, when the Bill was framed, that no commutation should take place, *until the employers could replace*

the labourer from a new emigrant vessel. But now, as no ships are arriving with new labourers, this commutation law has become a dead letter.

In order to show the extreme tenacity with which the employers are taking advantage of the Indian labourers' helplessness, the following incident is significant: When the Planters insisted that all commutation rights were null and void, I tried to obtain relief from the Fiji Government in the hardest case of all,—the case of a legitimate wife being *forced* to remain on, under indenture, amid the frightful moral evils of the coolie 'lines,' after her husband's indenture had expired. I asked that, in this case, at least, the right of commutation (the husband paying the money due) should be absolute and immediate. There was strong opposition to this among some of the Planters. [One of them actually told me, face to face, that he was against it, as it would increase the disproportion of men to women in his 'lines!'] His Excellency the Governor appointed a Committee on which four leading Government officials (Heads of Departments), seven members of the Fiji Legislative Council, and four Planters' representatives, sat together to consider this and other questions. My own proposal, which was put before them, was rejected, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That, in the opinion of this Committee, commutation of indenture should be allowed (when desired by a female immigrant legally married to an immigrant whose indenture has expired) provided that the husband and wife, if required by the employer, first, *by combined effort*, work off the number of days to complete the wife's indenture."

[The italics are in the copy given to me by the Colonial Secretary].

Thus according to these gentlemen, including among their number the most responsible members of the Fiji Government, the wife's position of extreme moral danger is to be exploited in order to induce the husband to work off half her time and thus give the employer the advantage of a man's work instead of a woman's. There are certain public actions which speak volumes as to the general level of opinion reached in any small community, and this appears to be one of them.

I am tempted to go still further in the

way of illustration and relate the facts with regard to an Indian child, which came under my own personal observation. The child, a boy of twelve, had been taken from India in charge of some nominal guardian or 'parent.' When he reached Fiji, his 'father' would have nothing more to do with him, and for some months he hung about the coolie 'lines' in a filthy, half-starved condition. At last he went to one of the free Indians and worked in his shop for a small wage; but, for this act of kindness, the free Indian was prosecuted by the Planter, on the charge of "harbouring a deserter", and fined 18£. The child was taken back to the 'lines' and again became half-starved. This time the boy went to the Missionary for protection. The Inspector of immigrants finding no other way out of the difficulty appointed the Missionary as the legal guardian of the child, and when I saw the boy under his new guardian's care he was the picture of health and receiving a good education. But, by the laws of indenture, as soon as the child reached the age of fifteen, he would be forced to go back into the coolie 'lines', to live in a small compartment with two grown-up men (probably steeped in vice) and to go out as an indentured 'coolie' in the field gangs,—and all this would take place, though he had never in all his life signed any indenture agreement. There was one of those 'hard cases' where the right of commutation would make all the difference. I was able personally to commute two such cases on my previous visit, (where the gravest moral danger threatened the young,) but I was told that in this instance the Planter would refuse to commute and that the law could not make him do so. I had to appeal direct to the Governor over the Planter's head. It will be seen from such examples as these, (which might be multiplied from my own personal experience) how vital to the Indian labourers this right of commutation is, which has now been taken away. While there is no actual breach of contract here, as there is concerning the refusal of the return passage, still a very grave new situation has arisen.

(2) *High cost of living.*—Here again there is no actual breach of contract; but, from all that I have said above and need not repeat, it will be seen that there is a clear case for equity.

The war has changed the whole aspect of affairs since the time the contract was made and now in the fourth and fifth years of the war the original contract has become altogether one-sided,—in favour of the employer, who is making enormous profits, and *against* the employee, whose small daily pittance is becoming ever less and less in value. The mere 25 per cent. rise in wages does not by any means cover the whole difference of expenditure. It has been but a palliative, not a real sharing of profits.

(3) *The immorality in the coolie 'lines'.* By far the strongest ground, in my opinion, for the immediate closing down of the present indentures,—thus making all Indians free,—is the moral one. Here higher considerations of statesmanship come in, rather than legal rights or money payments. It has been proved up to the hilt that the coolie 'lines' of Fiji lead directly to the prostitution of the Indian women, and also that there is no possible remedy while women are forced by law to remain against their will in what are, for all practical purposes, brothels. This condition of things should surely not be allowed to go on. The statement definitely made, in the Fiji Government Medical Report, and published by the Fiji Government itself, that, "one indentured Indian woman has to serve three indentured men as well as various outsiders" is so completely final, coming as it does officially along with the Government of India's own Despatch of October, 1915, that no Administration worthy of the name should tolerate for a moment such a state of things, whatever financial inducements might be held out for their continuance.

This moral argument is further strengthened by the fact, that the Indian community in Fiji, owing to the long years of past indenture, has reached a demoralised condition. The cancellation of the remaining indentures will bring relief, not only to the indentured labourers themselves, but to the Indian community generally, whose recovery of self-respect is the most vital factor to be considered. I have seen with my own eyes the depression which has come to the Indians in Fiji and how they have been despised even by the Fijians themselves on account of their semi-servile status. This outlook of subjection and depression, which is so often apparent in spite of prosperous natural

conditions, would vanish and a new attitude of recovered dignity would supervene, if once it were understood by all in the islands,—Fijians, Europeans and Indians themselves,—that not one single Indian was any longer under the bondage of indenture, but that every Indian in Fiji was free.

The planters on the North Side of the main Island were ready to meet me in order to consider together, as one question, the commutation and the closing down of all indentures. They had already agreed to the advance in wages of 25 per cent. and the moment seemed favourable for settling the larger issue. I put before them the proposition that they should agree to close down the whole system in Fiji at the end of the year 1919 and allow the commutation of all 'hard cases' during the interval. These Planters of the North represented about two-thirds of the whole Sugar industry. After several meetings and discussions they came to an informal agreement among themselves to advocate the above terms, and this was ratified unanimously by an executive committee at which I was invited to be present. It should be understood that I had no official authority and they had a perfect right to change their opinion afterwards if they chose. What did happen was that, for the time being, the Planters on the North Side agreed to the reasonableness of this demand that indenture should close in 1919 instead of in 1921.

The first obstruction to this agreement came from the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Though not directly refusing to participate in these discussions, there was a warning note sounded by them, and it became fairly clear on which side the Company would throw its weight, if the scale began to swing back. Then came the Governor's Committee, in Suva, mentioned above, on which the Planters of the South were strongly represented. The subject was warmly debated. In the end an entirely new Resolution was passed, which served the purpose of blocking all further efforts at negotiation. The Resolution was in the form of a bait to the Indian public, and ran as follows:—

"That this Committee considers that all indentures should be commuted *as soon as a new system of free emigration be satisfactorily established*, public funds

being employed to meet the cost of commutation." [The italics are mine.]

This resolution was carried,—the hope being, that it might induce the Indian public to allow recruiting for Fiji to be reopened in India. I assured everyone that such a hope was ridiculously vain and futile. But from the time of the meeting of the Governor's Committee and the transference of the seat of discussion to the South of the Island, no further informal progress was possible. Indeed, towards the end of my visit, after I had published a preliminary statement of my findings, as to the state of the coolie 'lines' and the immorality that prevailed there, I could not help but notice a change of attitude even in the North and an unwillingness to discuss things further. This was due in a great measure to the influence of the Planter's Association in the South, which had refused all along to meet me. But it appeared to be due also to the fact, that I had taken what the Northern Planters held to be a far too pessimistic view of the moral conditions.

I would not wish to end the personal narrative of these informal negotiations (which at one time seemed so very nearly successful) without expressing my sincere respect for the Planters on the North side of the Island, and my appreciation of the genuine efforts they made to consider fairly, and even generously, the Indian labourers' difficulties, when they were placed clearly before them. I have also very warm recollections of personal acts of kindness on their part which touched me deeply. I would add that I met with individual cases of the same kind in the South, though the Planters' Association there was hostile throughout.

There have been certain material improvements in the lot of the indentured labourer in recent years to which I very gladly bear witness. The hours of work have now been so arranged, and the 'tasks' have been so proportioned, that both men and women get back to the 'line' much earlier in the day than before. There has also been a remission of the harsh and unjust penal laws, which compelled the indentured labourers, either to do their appointed task each day, or else be treated as criminals. Certain sanitary improvements have been introduced which have greatly diminished the unhealthiness

of the old coolie 'lines.' All these things have produced a marked improvement on the past.

There used to be, under the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, in the old days, a system in operation called "speeding up" which led to cruelties unpardonable in a civilised community. These have been related to me by the European overseers themselves who were brought up within the system. What happened was, that one overseer was "speeded up" against another and each in turn was compelled, on pain of dismissal, to get his area of work done at a fraction less cost than that of his fellows. In order to achieve these 'speeded up' results, the very last ounce was taken out of the Indian labourer by bullying, threatening and flogging.

It was in these days, that the 'suicides of despair' took place with such frequency. I have talked with many overseers who have witnessed them. They invariably took place, so I am told, between 3 A. M. and 4 A. M. in the morning, soon after the coolie had been awakened from sleep by the loud clanging of the gong. The hated sound would enter into his tired brain: the pulse of life would be beating at its lowest: the misery of year after year of this sweated labour (from which there was no escape) would appear to be unending, and in consequence one early morning the coolie would be found hanging dead. Those who have seen the bodies after death have described to me one feature,—the feet were drawn up tightly, whereas they could have easily been let down to touch the ground. The 'will to die' was stronger than the 'will to live.'

All these things have passed away. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company now leases out its lands, instead of employing paid official agents; and these responsible employers, managing their own estates, are, on the whole, kindly in their treatment. On the North side of the Island,—where the profits during the war have been so enormous,—the humaner treatment of Indians has become markedly evident.

It now remains, in order to complete the picture, to turn from what happens to the indentured labourers and to give an account of the prosperous conditions of those who have gained their freedom.

Immediately on the expiry of indenture

the wages of even indifferent Indian labourers become doubled and often more than doubled; and there are always a number of employers eager to obtain their services. Those Planters, who have gained a reputation for kindness, have no difficulty in retaining most of their old labourers, on increased wages, even after the indenture is over. But those employers, who are noted among Indians for their harsh treatment, find it very difficult indeed to get any men at all, now that recruiting in India has ceased. There can be no question that this one simple factor of shortage of labour has been more potent than all government regulations to bring about a better state of things.

A very large number of the more enterprising Indians, year by year, refuse to work any longer as hired labourers. They purchase instead some land of their own on a short lease. Many of these become, in time, prosperous farmers. The rich, fertile soil of Fiji, (only a fraction of which has been brought under cultivation), is very extensive in area and very cheap. Cattle grazing is comparatively easy on account of the abundance of grass all the year round. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company and the other companies are ready to buy the sugar cane from Indian growers at fair prices and every year the proportion of Indian-grown sugar-cane is becoming greater. These independent Indians have, of course, shared in the immense war profits, as well as the Europeans. They do not, however, enter into the indenture labour problem at all; for nearly all of them have only very small estates, which they work by themselves, or along with two or three partners, hiring free Indian labour only for the 'cutting' season. I have never yet met a single Indian Planter who has ever employed indentured labour.

In order to show the very remarkable material prosperity among the free Indians, who have long ago finished their indentures and settled down in the Islands, it will be most convenient for readers in India, if I tabulate, in a way that can be easily understood, the statistics presented to Government by the different Sugar Companies and published in the Emigration Department's Report.

It should be borne in mind, in estimating these figures, that the total number of free Indians, in 1916, was roughly 50,000,

of whom 30,000 were males. The proportion of grown up men among this number would be fairly large. The figures do not refer to the indentured population.

The following are the returns, in the different districts, for the sugar cultivation by free Indians.

DISTRICTS OF TAVUA AND BA. (C.S.R.Co.)

Number of Indian growers	429 men.
Area under cultivation	5,422 acres.
Number of tons crushed	58,957 tons.
Total amount paid	£38,538
Greatest tonnage of a single Indian	2,852 tons.
Least tonnage of a single Indian	3 tons.
Greatest single amount paid	£1,565 0 0
Least single amount paid	£1 14 0

DISTRICTS OF LAUTOKA AND NADI. (C.S.R.Co.)

Number of Indian growers	450 men.
Area under cultivation	7,300 acres.
Number of tons crushed	98,519 tons.
Total amount paid	£58,690

DISTRICT OF MACUATA. (C.S.R.Co.)

Number of Indian growers	126 men.
Area under cultivation	850 acres.
Number of tons crushed	7,440 tons.
Total amount paid	£4,106

DISTRICT OF REWA. (C.S.R.Co.)

Number of Indian growers	(not given)
Area under cultivation	5,000 acres.
Number of tons crushed	42,742 tons.
Total amount paid	£22,790

DISTRICT OF NAVUA. (Vancouver S. Co.)

Number of Indian growers	(not given)
Area under cultivation	3,500 acres.
Number of tons crushed	34,637 tons.
Total amount paid	£16,510

DISTRICT OF RA. (Melbourne Trust.)

Number of Indian growers	5
Area under cultivation	325 acres.
Number of tons crushed	3,920 tons.
Total amount paid	£2,314
Greatest single amount paid	£1,347

It will be seen from these certified returns that, in the year 1916, the free Indians received for their sugar crop the sum of £142,948. I have a later return for the year 1917, which shows an increase of £3,000 for the Indian sugar return in the Ba District alone. We should, therefore, be well within the mark if we were to put the whole Indian sugar return for 1917

at over £150,000, say, 23 lakhs of rupees. We must add to these returns the amounts received for cereals and bananas which came roughly to another £25,000, making a total of £175,000 for a community of 50,000 persons. If we reckon in the yearly return for the cattle also, we may put the annual agricultural return at 30 lakhs.

It must not, of course, be imagined that the returns given above are clear profit. By far the greater number of Indian cultivators are still heavily in debt, either to Europeans, or to Fijians. I traced out one large transaction, which may be regarded as fairly typical. A European had bought some new cane land for £1,500. He sold it again almost immediately to an Indian cultivator for £4,000, which sum was to be paid off in 5 instalments of £800 each; if payment were delayed a certain interest was to be charged (I think 8 per cent.), but if any of the payments became overdue by more than a year, then all the land, together with all the money paid, was to be forfeit. Those were, as far as I can remember, the terms. It did not appear to me that such a forfeiture would be allowed in a court of law, but many transactions take place of this kind, and land speculation has become a form of gambling to which many Indians have become addicted.

It may be said roughly, that the very high prices given for sugar and cereals during the war have enriched the free Indians and enabled many to become entirely free from debt, while at the same time they have kept in grinding poverty the indentured Indians. It is when this situation is fully appreciated, that the need of helping the indentured Indians becomes so urgent.

The rapid increase in Indian sugar cultivation during recent years makes the question a practical one, whether the free Indians will not in time take the place of the European planters altogether. I have not the complete figures before me and I found them difficult to obtain, but it is probable that already the Indian sugar returns represent nearly 30 per cent. of the whole crop. If the same rapidity of advance takes place in the future, it is not improbable that, within the next ten years, one half of the whole sugar-cane crop will be Indian-grown. The original European planters, who, after obtaining

immense profits are now faced with shortage of labour, are likely to sell out in order to realise their gains; and every estate, as it falls in, will be cut up into Indian blocks.

I take from my own notes, as they were written on the spot, an account of one of the most pleasant Indian scenes which I witnessed during my two visits to Fiji. It happened in the district of Nadi, where the free settlements of Indians are very numerous and where the climate is most conducive to a vigorous, healthy life. My notes run as follows:—

"There were some two thousand Indians on the lawn, which was the centre of a Fijian settlement, beautifully kept. They were dressed in gay colours, especially the women, and it appeared exactly like an Indian *Mela*. The children looked the very picture of health. For pure enjoyment it would be very hard to beat what I saw that day, even in North India. The arrangement for the Red Cross Day had been made by the Indians themselves. The Europeans were their guests and they were shown every courtesy and hospitality in true Indian fashion. What I was especially glad to see was the good humoured chaff that went on between the two races, and also the kindly freedom and naturalness with which the women of the two races mingled. It was a racial scene quite unthinkable in South Africa, and very rare, I should imagine, in India itself.

"There was a first rate wrestling match in the afternoon. Two champions, of rival districts, were the combatants. But though feeling ran high, there was never any loss of temper, either on the part of the crowd or of the wrestlers themselves. A European Planter was the umpire, and one of his own labourers was the champion of the Nadi District. The match went against him. A very muscular Musalman (the son of a rich Indian Zamindar) won the match after a great struggle. Later on in the day some cattle were sold at auction and the low prices astonished me,—a good milking cow being auctioned for twenty-seven rupees. But I was told that cattle were usually sold at about those rates. At the end of the day it was found that £275 had been collected for the Red Cross.

"The District Magistrate was keenly interested in the whole affair. He is very greatly respected by all the Indians of the

Nadi District. Another popular figure was one of the overseers of the Lautoka Mill, who was asked by the Indians to be their auctioneer. He carried out his work in the most amusing style, to the great enjoyment of the crowd."

A remarkable individual case of prosperity is that of the Hon. Badre Maharaj, who came out to Fiji from the North of India, under indenture, thirty years ago. He has gained a name for uprightness of conduct and steady industrious work all over the Islands. Little by little he has built up a prosperous plantation in connexion with the Mill of the Melbourne Trust. He pays his men, who are free, a reasonable wage and he has started a school of his own for Indian children. Both his sons have gone to New Zealand for their education and have done well there. One boy is still at school: the other hopes to go to Oxford after the war.

Among the European Planters and overseers there are a considerable number who bear an honourable record among Indians for kindly treatment. It would be invidious to single out names from among those who are in the Islands today, employing Indian labour on their plantations, but I would wish to state generally that I have had the privilege during my two visits of meeting with those for whom my respect deepened the longer I knew them. I saw them at all hours of the day, while they were engaged in their daily round of duties, and I noticed with great pleasure the frankness of the relations which existed, in their case, between employer and employed. That I saw others of an opposite character goes without saying, human nature being what it is, but I can state with some confidence from personal observation that these were comparatively few as far as those parts of the Islands were concerned which I chiefly visited.

If it is considered that an undue proportion of this section of the Report on the material conditions has been taken up with the needs of the small number of Indians still under indenture, the reason has been that I cannot but regard the present position of these indentured Indians as an unfair one and their grievances as just. It was therefore necessary to state them at length, in the hope that they may be rectified as soon as possible by Indian Government action.

C. F. ANDREWS.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER IX. BIMALA'S STORY.

13.

FOR a time I was utterly at a loss to think of any way of getting that money. Then, the other day, in the light of intense excitement, suddenly the whole picture stood out clear before me.

Every year my husband makes a reverence-offering of six thousand rupees to my sister-in-law at the time of the Durga Puja. Every year that is deposited in her account at the bank in Calcutta. This year the offering was made as usual but it has not yet been sent to the bank, being kept meanwhile in an iron safe, in a corner of the little dressing room attached to our bedroom.

Every year my husband takes the money to the bank himself. This year he has not yet had an opportunity of going to town. How could I fail to see the hand of Providence in this? The money has been held up because the country wants it,—who could have the power to take it away from her to the bank? And how can I have the power to refuse to take the money? The Goddess revelling in destruction holds out her blood-cup crying: "Give me drink. I am thirsty." I will give her my own heart's blood with that five thousand rupees. "Mother, the loser of that money will scarcely feel the loss, but me you will utterly ruin!"

Many a time, in the old days, have I inwardly called the Senior Rani a thief, for I charged her with wheedling money out of my trusting husband. After her husband's death she often used to make away with things belonging to the estate for her own use. This I used to point out to my husband, but he remained silent. I would get angry and say: "If you feel generous, make gifts by all means, but why allow yourself to be robbed?" Providence must have smiled, then, at these complaints of mine, for to-night I am on the way to rob my husband's safe of my sister-in-law's money.

My husband's custom was to let his keys remain in his pockets when he took off his clothes for the night, leaving them in the dressing room. I picked out the key of the safe and opened it. The slight sound it made seemed to wake the whole world! A sudden chill turned my hands and feet icy cold, and I shivered all over.

There was a drawer inside the safe. On opening this I found the money, not in currency notes, but in gold rolled up in paper. I had no time to count out what I wanted. There were twenty rolls, all of which I took and tied up in a corner of my *sari*.

What a weight it was. The burden of the theft crushed my heart to the dust. Perhaps notes would have made it seem less like thieving, but this was all gold.

After I had stolen back into my room like a thief, it felt like my own room no longer. All the most precious rights which I had over it vanished at the touch of my theft. I began to mutter to myself, as though telling *mantrams*: *Bande Mataram, Bande Mataram*, my Country, my golden Country, all this gold is for you, for none else!

But in the night the mind is weak. I came back into the bedroom where my husband was asleep, closing my eyes as I passed through, and went off to the open terrace beyond, on which I lay prone, clasping to my breast the end of the *sari* tied over the gold. And each one of the rolls gave me a shock of pain.

The silent night stood there with forefinger upraised. I could not think of my house as separate from my country: I had robbed my house, I had robbed my country. For this sin my house had ceased to be mine, my country also was estranged from me. Had I died begging for my country, even unsuccessfully, that would have been worship, acceptable to the gods. But theft is never worship,—how then can I offer this gold? Ah me! I am doomed to death myself, must I desecrate my country with my impious touch?

The way to put the money back is

closed to me. I have not the strength to return to the room, take again that key, open once more that safe,—I should swoon on the threshold of my husband's door. The only road left now is the road in front. Neither have I the strength deliberately to sit down and count the coins. Let them remain behind their coverings: I cannot calculate.

There was no mist in the winter sky. The stars were shining brightly. If, thought I to myself, as I lay out there, I had to steal these stars one by one, like golden coins, for my country,—these stars so carefully stored up in the bosom of the darkness,—then the sky would be blinded, the night widowed for ever, and my theft would rob the whole world. But was not also this very thing I had done a robbing of the whole world,—not only of money, but of trust, of righteousness?

I spent the night lying on the terrace. When at last it was morning, and I was sure that my husband had risen and left the room, then only with my shawl pulled over my head, could I retrace my steps towards the bedroom.

The Senior Rani was about, with her brass pot, watering her plants. When she saw me passing in the distance she cried: "Have you heard the news, Junior Rani?"

I stopped in silence, all in a tremor. It seemed to me that the rolls of sovereigns were bulging through the shawl. I feared they would burst and scatter in a ringing shower, exposing to all the servants of the house the thief who had made herself destitute by robbing her own wealth.

"Your band of robbers," she went on, "have sent an anonymous message threatening to loot the treasury."

I remained as silent as a thief.

"I was advising brother Nikhil to seek your protection," she continued banteringly. "Call off your minions, Robber Queen! We shall offer sacrifices to your *Bande Mataram* if you will but save us. What doings there are these days!—but for the Lord's sake, spare our house at least from burglary."

I hastened into my room without reply. I had put my foot on quicksand, and could not now withdraw it. Struggling would only send me down deeper.

If only the time would arrive when I could hand over the money to Sandip!

I could bear it no longer, its weight was breaking through my very ribs.

It was still early when I got word that Sandip was awaiting me. To-day I had no thought of adornment. Wrapped as I was in my shawl, I went off to the outer apartments.

As I entered the sitting room I saw Sandip and Amulya there together. All my dignity, all my honour, seemed to run tingling through my body from head to foot and vanish into the ground. I would have to lay bare a woman's uttermost shame in sight of this boy! Could they have been discussing my deed in their meeting place? Had any vestige of a veil of decency been left for me?

We women shall never understand men. When they are bent on making a road for some achievement, they think nothing of breaking the heart of the world into pieces to pave it for the progress of their chariot. When they are mad with the intoxication of creating, they rejoice in destroying the creation of the Creator. This heart-breaking shame of mine will not attract even a glance from their eyes. They have no feeling for life itself,—all their eagerness is for their object. What am I to them but a meadow flower in the path of a torrent in flood?

What good will this extinction of me be to Sandip? Only five thousand rupees? Was not I good for something more than only five thousand rupees? Yes, indeed! Did I not learn that from Sandip himself, and was I not able in the light of this knowledge to despise all else in my world? I was the giver of light, of life, of *shakti*, of immortality,—in that belief, in that joy, I had burst all my bounds, into the open. Had any one then fulfilled for me that joy, I should have lived in my death; I should have lost nothing in the loss of my all.

Do they want to tell me now that all this was false? The psalm of my praise which was sung so devotedly, did it bring me down from my heaven, not to make heaven of earth, but only to level heaven itself with the dust?

14.

"The money, Queen?" said Sandip with his keen glance full on my face.

Amulya also fixed his gaze on me. Though not my own mother's child, yet the dear lad is brother to me; for mother is mother all the world over. With his

guileless face, his gentle eyes, his innocent youth he looked at me. And I, a woman,—of his mother's sex,—how could I hand him poison, just because he asked for it?

"The money, Queen!" Sandip's insolent demand rang in my ears. For very shame and vexation I felt I wanted to fling that gold at Sandip's head. I could hardly undo the knot of my *sari*, my fingers trembled so. At last the paper rolls dropped on the table.

Sandip's face grew black. . . . He must have thought that the rolls were of silver. . . . What contempt was in his looks. What utter disgust at incapacity. It was almost as if he could have struck me! He must have suspected that I had come to parley with him, to offer to compound his claim for five thousand rupees with a few hundreds. There was a moment when I thought he would snatch up the rolls and throw them out of the window, declaring that he was no beggar, but a king claiming tribute.

"Is that all?" asked Amulya with such pity welling up in his voice that I wanted to sob out aloud. I kept my heart tightly pressed down, and merely nodded my head.

Sandip was speechless. He neither touched the rolls, nor uttered a sound.

My humiliation went straight to the boy's heart. With a sudden, feigned enthusiasm he exclaimed: "It's plenty. It will do splendidly. You have saved us." With which he tore open the covering of one of the rolls.

The sovereigns shone out. And in a moment a black covering seemed to be lifted from Sandip's countenance also. His delight beamed forth from his features. Unable to control his sudden revulsion of feeling he sprang up from his seat towards me. What he intended, I know not. I flashed a lightning glance towards Amulya,—the colour had left the boy's face as at the stroke of a whip. Then with all my strength I thrust Sandip from me. As he reeled back, his head struck the edge of the marble table and he dropped on the floor. There he lay awhile, motionless. Exhausted with my effort I sank back on my seat.

Amulya's face lightened with a joyful radiance. He did not even turn towards Sandip, but came straight up, took the dust of my feet and then remained there, sitting on the floor in front of me. O my little brother, my child! This reverence

of yours is the last touch of heaven left in my empty world! I could contain myself no longer, and my tears flowed fast. I covered my eyes with the end of my *sari*, which I pressed to my face with both my hands, and sobbed and sobbed. And every time that I felt on my feet his tender touch, trying to comfort me, my tears broke out afresh.

After a little, when I had recovered myself and taken my hands from my face, I saw Sandip back at the table, gathering up the sovereigns in his handkerchief, as if nothing had happened. Amulya rose to his seat, from his place near my feet, his wet eyes shining.

Sandip coolly looked up at my face as he remarked: "It is six thousand."

"What do we want with so much, Sandip Babu?" cried Amulya. "Three thousand five hundred is all we need for our work."

"Our wants are not for this one place only," Sandip replied. "We shall want all we can get."

"That may be," said Amulya. "But in future I undertake to get you all you want. Out of this, Sandip Babu, please return the extra two thousand five hundred to the Maharani."

Sandip looked inquiringly at me.

"No, no," I exclaimed. "I shall never touch that money again. Do with it as you will."

"Can man ever give as woman can!" said Sandip, looking towards Amulya.

"They are goddesses!" agreed Amulya with enthusiasm.

"We men can at best give of our power," continued Sandip. "But women give themselves. Out of their own life they give birth; out of their own life they give sustenance. Such gifts are the only true gifts." Then turning to me, "Queen!" said he, "if what you have given us had been only money I would not have touched it. But you have given that which is more to you than life itself!"

There must be two different persons inside men. One of these in me can understand that Sandip is trying to delude me; the other is content to be deluded. Sandip has power, but no strength of righteousness. The weapon of his which rouses up life smites it again to death. He has the unfailing quiver of the gods, but the shafts in them are of the demons.

Sandip's handkerchief was not large

enough to hold all the coins. "Queen," he asked, "Can you give me another?"

When I gave him mine, he reverently touched with it his forehead, and then suddenly kneeling on the floor he made me an obeisance. "Goddess!" he said, "it was to offer my reverence that I had approached you, but you repulsed me, and rolled me in the dust. Be it so. I accept your repulse as your boon to me, I raise it to my head in salutation!" with which he pointed to the place where he had been hurt.

Had I then misunderstood him? Could it be that his outstretched hands had really been directed towards my feet? Yet, surely, even Amulya had seen the passion that flamed out of his eyes, his face. But Sandip is such an adept in setting music to his chant of praise that I cannot argue. I lose my power of seeing truth; my sight is clouded over like an opium-eater's eyes. And so, after all, he gave me back twice as much in return for the blow I had dealt him,—the wound on his head ended by making me bleed at heart. When I had received Sandip's obeisance my theft seemed to gain a dignity, and the gold glittering on the table to smile away all fear of disgrace, all stings of conscience.

Like me Amulya also was won back. His devotion to Sandip, which had suffered a momentary check, blazed up anew. The flower-vase of his mind filled once more with offerings for the worship of Sandip and me. His simple faith shone out of his eyes with the pure light of the morning star at dawn.

After I had offered worship and received worship my sin became radiant. And as Amulya looked on my face he raised his folded hands in salutation and cried *Bande Mataram*! I cannot expect to have this adoration surrounding me for ever; and yet this has come to be the only means of keeping alive my self-respect.

I can no longer enter my bedroom. The bedstead seems to thrust out a forbidding hand; the iron safe frowns at me. I want to get away from this continual insult to myself which is rankling within me. I want to keep running to Sandip to hear him sing my praises. There is just this one little altar of worship which has kept its head above the fall-pervading depths of my dishonour, and so I want to cleave to it night and day; for on whichever

side I step away from it, there is only emptiness.

Praise, praise, I want unceasing praise. I cannot live if my wine cup be left empty for a single moment. So, as the very price of my life, I want Sandip of all the world, to-day.

15.

When my husband now-a-days comes in for his meals, I feel I cannot sit before him; and yet it is such a shame not to be near him that I feel I cannot do that either. So I seat myself where we cannot look at each other's faces. That was how I was sitting the other day when the Senior Rani came and joined us.

"It is all very well for you, brother," said she, "to laugh away these threatening letters. But they do frighten me so. Have you sent off that money you gave me to the Calcutta bank?"

"No, I have not yet had the time to get away," my husband replied.

"You are so careless brother dear, you had better look out . . ."

"But it is in the iron safe right inside the inner dressing room," said my husband with a reassuring smile.

"What if they get in there? You can never tell!"

"If they go so far, they might as well carry you off too!"

"Don't you fear, no one will come for poor me. The real attraction is in your room! But joking apart, don't run the risk of keeping money in the room like that."

"They will be taking along the government revenue to Calcutta in a few days now, I will send this money to the bank under the same escort."

"Very well. But see you don't forget all about it, you are so absent-minded."

"Even if that money gets lost, while in my room, the loss cannot be yours, Sister Rani."

"Now, now, brother, you will make me very angry if you talk in that way. Was I making any difference between yours and mine? What if your money is lost, does not that hurt me? If providence has thought fit to take away my all, it has not left me insensible to the value of the most devoted brother known since the days of Lakshman."

* Of the Ramayana. The story of his devotion to his elder brother Rama and his brother's wife Sita, has become a by-word.

"Well, Junior Rani, are you turned into a wooden doll? You have not spoken a word yet. Do you know, brother, our Junior Rani thinks I try to flatter you. If things came to that pass I should not hesitate to do so, but I know my dear old brother does not need it!"

Thus the Senior Rani chattered on, not forgetting now and then to draw her 'brother's' attention to this or that special delicacy amongst the dishes that were being served. My head was all the time in a whirl. The crisis was fast coming. Something must be done about replacing that money. And as I kept asking myself what could be done, and how it was to be done, the unceasing patter of my sister-in-law's words seemed more and more intolerable.

What made it all the more uncomfortable was, that nothing could escape the Senior Rani's keen eyes. Every now and then she was casting side glances towards me. What she could read in my face, I do not know, but to me it seemed that everything was written there only too plainly.

Then I did an infinitely rash thing. Affecting an easy, amused laugh I said: "All the Senior Rani's suspicions, I see, are reserved for me,—her fears of thieves and robbers are only a feint."

The Senior Rani smiled mischievously. "You are right, sister mine. A woman's theft is the most fatal of all thefts. But how can you elude my watchfulness. Am I a man, that you should hoodwink me?"

"If you fear me so," I retorted, "let me keep in your hands all I have, as security. If I cause you loss, you can then repay yourself."

"Just listen to her, our simple little Junior Rani!" she laughed back turning to my husband. "Does she not know that there are losses which no security can make good, either in this world or in the next?"

My husband did not join in our exchange of words. When he had finished, he went off to the outer apartments, for now-a-days he does not take his mid-day rest in our room.

All my more valuable jewels were in deposit in the treasury in charge of the cashier. Still what I kept with me must have been worth thirty or forty thousand. I took my jewel box to the Senior Rani's room and opened it out before her, saying:

"I leave these with you, sister. They will keep you quite safe from all worry."

The Senior Rani made a gesture of mock despair. "You positively astound me, Junior Rani!" she said. "Do you really suppose I spend sleepless nights for fear of being robbed by you?"

"What harm if you did have a wholesome fear of me? Does anybody know anybody else in this world?"

"You want to teach me a lesson by trusting me? No, no! I am bothered enough to know what to do with my own jewels, without keeping watch over yours. Take them away, there's a dear, so many prying servants are about."

I went straight from the Senior Rani's room to the sitting room outside, and sent for Amulya. With him Sandip came along too. I was in a great hurry, and said to Sandip: "If you don't mind, I have a word or two with Amulya. Would you..."

Sandip smiled a wry smile. "So Amulya and I are separate in your eyes? If you have set about to wean him from me, I must confess I have no power to retain him."

I made no reply but stood waiting.

"Be it so," Sandip went on, "finish your special talk with Amulya. But then you must give me a special talk all to myself too, or it will mean a defeat for me. I can stand everything, but not defeat. My share must always be the lion's share. This has been my constant quarrel with Providence. I will defeat the Dispenser of my fate, but not take defeat at his hands." With a crushing look at Amulya, Sandip walked out of the room.

"Amulya, my own little brother, you must do one thing for me," I said.

"I will stake my life for whatever duty you may lay on me, Sister."

I brought out my jewel box from the folds of my shawl and placed it before him. "Sell or pawn these," I said, "and get me six thousand rupees as fast as ever you can."

"No, no, Sister," said Amulya touched to the quick. "Let these jewels be. I will get you six thousand all the same."

"Oh don't be silly," I said impatiently. "There is no time for any nonsense. Take this box. Get away to Calcutta by the night train. And bring me the money by the day after tomorrow, positively."

Amulya took a diamond necklace out of

the box, held it up to the light and put it back gloomily.

"I know," I told him, "that you will never get the proper price for these diamonds, so I am giving you jewels worth about thirty thousand. I don't care if they all go, but I must have that six thousand without fail.

"Do you know, Sister," said Amulya, "I have had a quarrel with Sandip Babu over that Rs. 6,000 he took from you? I cannot tell you how ashamed I felt. But Sandip Babu would have it that we must give up even our shame for the country. That may be so. But this is somehow different. I do not fear to die for the country, to kill for the country,—that much *shakti* has been given me. But I cannot forget the shame of having taken money from you. There Sandip Babu is ahead of me. He has no regrets or compunctions. He says we must get rid of the idea that the money belongs to the one in whose box it happens to be,—if we cannot, where is the magic of *Bande Mataram*?"

Amulya gathered enthusiasm as he talked on. He always warms up when he has me for a listener. "The *Gita* tells us," he continued, "that no one can kill the soul. Killing is a mere word. So also is the taking away of money. Whose is the money? No one has created it. No one can take it away with him when he departs this life, for it is no part of his soul. To-day it is mine, to-morrow my son's, the next day his creditor's. Since, in fact, money belongs to no one, why should any blame attach to our patriots if, instead of leaving it for some worthless son, they take it for their own use?"

When I hear Sandip's words uttered by this boy, I tremble all over. Let those who are snake-charmers play with snakes; if harm comes to them, they are prepared for it. But these boys are so innocent, all the world is ready with its blessing to protect them. They play with a snake not knowing its nature and when we see them smilingly, trustfully, putting their hands within reach of its fangs, then we understand how terribly dangerous the snake is. Sandip is right when he suspects that though I, for myself, may be ready to die at his hands, this boy I shall wean from him and save.

"So the money is wanted for the use of your patriots, I suppose," I asked with a smile.

"Of course it is!" said Amulya, proudly. "Are they not our kings? Poverty takes away from their regal power. Do you know, we always insist on Sandip Babu travelling First Class? He never shirks kingly honours,—he accepts them not for himself, but for the glory of us all. The greatest weapon of those who rule the world, Sandip Babu has told us, is the hypnotism of their display. To take the vow of poverty would be for them not merely a penance,—it would mean suicide."

At this point Sandip noiselessly entered the room. I threw my shawl over the jewel case with a rapid movement.

"The special-talk business not yet over?" he asked with a sneer in his tone.

"Yes, we've quite finished," said Amulya apologetically. "It was nothing much."

"No, Amulya," I said, "we have not quite finished."

"So, *exit* Sandip, for the second time, I suppose" said Sandip.

"If you please."

"And as to Sandip's re-entry . . ."

"Not to-day. I have no time."

"I see!" said Sandip as his eyes flashed. "No time to waste, only for special talks!"

Jealousy! Where the strong man shows weakness, there the weaker sex cannot help beating her drums of victory. So I repeated, firmly: "I really have no time."

Sandip went away looking black. Amulya was greatly perturbed. "Sister Rani," he pleaded, "Sandip Babu is annoyed."

"He has neither cause nor right to be annoyed," I said with some vehemence. "Let me caution you about one thing, Amulya. Say nothing to Sandip Babu about the sale of my jewels,—on your life."

"No, I will not."

"Then you had better not delay any more. You must get away by to-night's train."

Amulya and I left the room together. As we came out on the verandah Sandip was standing there. I could see he was waiting to waylay Amulya. To prevent that I had to engage him. "What is it you wanted to tell me, Sandip Babu?" I asked.

"I have nothing special to say—mere

small talk. And since you have not the time . . ."

"I can give you just a little."

By this time Amulya had left. As we entered the room Sandip asked: "What was that box Amulya carried away?"

The box had not escaped his eyes. I remained firm. "If I could have told you, it would have been made over to him in your presence."

"So you think Amulya will not tell me?"

"No, he will not."

Sandip could not conceal his anger any longer. "You think you will gain the mastery over me?" he blazed out. "That shall never be. Amulya, there, would die a happy death if I deigned to trample him under foot. I will never, so long as I live, allow you to bring him to your feet!"

Oh, the weak! the weak! At last Sandip has realised that he is weak before me! That is why there is this sudden outburst of anger. He has understood that he cannot meet the power that I wield, with mere strength. With a glance I can crumble his strongest fortifications. So he must needs resort to bluster. I simply smiled, in contemptuous silence. At last have I come to a level above him. I must never lose this vantage ground; never descend low again. Amidst all my degradation this bit of dignity must remain to me!

"I know," said Sandip, after a pause, "it was your jewel case."

"You may guess as you please," said I, "but you will get nothing out from me."

"So you trust Amulya more than you trust me? Do you know that the boy is the shadow of my shadow, the echo of my echo,—that he is nothing if I am not at his side?"

"Where he is not your echo, he is himself, Amulya. And that is where I trust him more than I can trust your echo!"

"You must not forget that you are under a promise to render up all your ornaments to me for the worship of the Divine Mother. In fact your offering has already been made."

"Whatever ornaments the gods leave to me will be offered up to the gods. But how can I offer those which have been stolen away from me?"

"Look here, it is no use your trying to give me the slip in that fashion. Now is the time for grim work. Let that work be finished, then you can make a display

of your woman's wiles to your heart's content,—and I will help you in your game."

The moment I had stolen my husband's money and paid it to Sandip, the music that was in our relations stopped. Not only did I destroy all my own value by making myself cheap, but Sandip's powers, too, lost scope for their full play. You cannot employ your marksmanship against a thing which is right in your grasp. So Sandip has lost his aspect of the hero, a tone of low quarrelsomeness has come into his words.

Sandip kept his brilliant eyes fixed full on my face till they seemed to blaze with all the thirst of the midday sky. Once or twice he fidgeted with his feet, as though to leave his seat, as if to spring right on me. My whole body seemed to swim, my veins throbbed, the hot blood surged up to my ears; I felt that if I remained there, I should never get up at all. With a supreme effort I tore myself off the chair, and hastened towards the door.

From Sandip's dry throat there came a muffled cry: "Whither would you flee, Queen?" The next moment he left his seat with a bound to seize hold of me. At the sound of footsteps outside the door, however, he rapidly retreated and fell back into his chair. I checked my steps near the bookshelf, where I stood staring at the names of the books.

As my husband entered the room, Sandip exclaimed: "I say, Nikhil, don't you keep Browning among your books here? I was just telling Queen Bee of our college club. Do you remember that contest of ours over the translation of those lines from Browning? You don't?—

She should never have looked at me,
If she meant I should not love her
There are plenty . . . men you call such,
I suppose . . . she may discover
All her soul to, if she pleases,
And yet leave much as she found them:
But I'm not so, and she knew it.
When she fixed me, glancing round them.

"I managed to get together the words to render it into Bengali, somehow, but the result was hardly likely to be a 'joy forever' to the people of Bengal. I really did think at one time that I was on the verge of becoming a poet, but providence was kind enough to save me from that disaster. Do you remember old Dakshina? If he had not become a Salt Inspector, he

would have been a poet. I remember his rendering to this day. . . .

"No, Queen Bee, it is no use rummaging those bookshelves. Nikhil has ceased to read poetry after his marriage,—perhaps he has no further need for it. But I suppose 'the fever fit of poesy', as the Sanskrit has it, is about to attack me again."

"I have come to give you a warning, Sandip," said my husband.

"About the fever fit of poesy?"

My husband took no notice of this attempt at humour. "For some time," he continued, "Mahomedan preachers have been about stirring up the local Mussulmans. They are all wild with you, and may attack you any moment."

"Are you come to advise flight?"

"I have come to give you information, not to offer advice."

"Had these estates been mine, such a warning would have been necessary for the preachers, not for me. If, instead of trying to frighten me, you give them a taste of your intimidation, that would be worthier both of you and me. Do you know that your weakness is weakening your neighbouring *zamindars* also?"

"I did not offer you my advice, Sandip. I wish you, too, would refrain from giving me yours. Besides it is useless. And there is another thing I want to tell you. You and your followers have been secretly worrying and oppressing my tenantry. I cannot allow that any longer. So I must ask you to leave my territory."

"For fear of the Mussulmans, or is there any other fear you have to threaten me with?"

"There are fears the want of which is cowardice. In the name of those fears, I tell you, Sandip, you must go. In five days' time I shall be starting for Calcutta. I want you to accompany me. You may of course stay in my house there,—to that there is no objection."

"All right, I have still five days' time, then. Meanwhile, Queen Bee, let me hum to you my song of parting from your honey-hive. Ah! you poet of modern Bengal! Throw open your doors and let me plunder your words. The theft is really yours, for it is my song which you have made your own—let the name be yours by

all means, but the song is mine." With this Sandip struck up in a deep, husky voice, which threatened to be out of tune, a song in the *Bhairavi* mode :

In the spring time of your kingdom, my Queen,
Meetings and partings chase each other in their endless hide and seek,
And flowers blossom in the wake of those that droop
and die in the shade.

In the spring time of your kingdom, my Queen,
My meeting with you had its own songs,
But has not also my leave-taking any gift to offer
you?

That gift is my secret hope, which I keep hidden in
the shadows of your flower garden
That the rains of July may sweetly temper your
fiery June.

His boldness was immense,—boldness which had no veil, but was naked as fire. One finds no time to stop it: it is like trying to resist a thunderbolt: the lightning flashes: it laughs at all resistance.

I left the room. As I was passing along the verandah towards the inner apartments, Amulya suddenly made his appearance and came and stood before me.

"Fear nothing, Sister Rani," he said. "I am off to-night and shall not return unsuccessful."

"Amulya," said I, looking straight into his earnest, youthful face, "I fear nothing for myself, but may I never cease to fear for you."

Amulya turned to go, but before he was out of sight I called him back and asked: "Have you a mother, Amulya?"

"I have."

"A sister?"

"No, I am the only child of my mother. My father died when I was quite little."

"Then go back to your mother, Amulya."

"But Sister Rani, I have now both mother and sister."

"Then, Amulya, before you leave to-night, come and have your dinner here."

"There won't be time for that. Let me take some food for the journey, consecrated with your touch."

"What do you specially like, Amulya?"

"If I had been with my mother I should have had lots of *Poush* cakes. Make some for me with your own hands, Sister Rani!"

(To be continued)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Tendency and Possibilities of English Poetry.

The review of the character of English poetry is continued in *Arya* for July. Coming, as it does, from Aurobindo Ghose, himself a poet and scholar of a very high order, having an amount of insight into English and classical literature which is rare amongst Indians, it deserves the serious consideration of all true lovers of literature.

The progress that English poetry has made is due to "a series of bold experiments less shackled by the past than in countries which have a stronger sense of cultural tradition." Mr. Ghose goes on to say

Form is a great power, but sureness of form is not everything. A strong tradition of form gives a sure ground upon which genius can work in safety and be protected from its own wanderings; but it limits and stands in the way of daring individual adventure. The spirit of adventure, if its path is strewn with accidents, stumblings or fatal casualties, brings, when it does succeed, new revelations which are worth all the price paid for them. English poetry is full of such new revelations. Its richness, its constant freshness, its lavish expenditure of genius exulting in freedom, delivered from all meticulous caution, its fire and force of imagination, its lambent energy of poetic speech, its constant self-liberation into intensest beauty of self-expression are the rewards of its courage and its liberty. These things are of the greatest value in poetry.

We have to accept one constant tendency "of the spirit of English poetry, which loves to dwell with all its weight upon the presentation of life and action, of feeling and passion, to give that its full force and to make it the basis and the source and, not only the point of reference, but the utility of all else. A strong hold upon this life, the earth-life, is the characteristic of the English mind, and it is natural that it should take possession of its poetry. The pure Celtic genius leans towards the opposite extreme, seems to care little for the earth-life for its own sake, has little hold on it or only a light and ethereal hold, accepts it as a starting-point for the expression of other-life, is attracted by all that is hidden and secret. The Latin mind insists on the presentation of life, but for the purposes of thought; its eye is on the universal truths and realities of which it is the visible expression,—not the remoter, the spiritual or soul-truths, but those which present themselves to the clarities of the intelligence. But the English mind looks at life and loves it for its own sake, in all its externalities, its play of outer individualities, its immediate subjective idiosyncracies. Even when it is strongly attracted by other motives, the intellectual, the aesthetic or the spiri-

tual, it seldom follows these with a completely disinterested fidelity, but comes back with them on the external life and tries to subject them to its mould. This turn is not universal,—Blake escapes from it,—nor the single dominant power,—Keats and Shelley and Wordsworth have their hearts elsewhere; but it is a constant power.

English poetry is much more powerfully and consciously personal and individual than that of any other language, and aims much less directly at the impersonal and universal.

Three general characteristics emerge. The first is a constant reference and return of the higher poetical motives to the forms of external life, as if the enriching of that life were its principal artistic aim. The second is a great force of subjective individuality and personal temperament as a leading power of the poetic creation. The third is a great intensity of speech and ordinarily of a certain kind of direct vision.

In following out the possible lines of the future the defect of the English mind is its inability to follow the higher motives disinterestedly to their deepest and largest creative results, but this is being remedied by new influences. The entrance of the pure Celtic temperament into English poetry through the Irish revival is likely to do much; the contribution of the Indian mind in work like Tagore's may act in the same direction.

The high intensity of speech which English poetry has brought to bear upon all its material, its power of giving the fullest and richest value to the word and the image, is needed for the expression of the values of the spiritual, which will be one of the aims of a higher intuitive utterance. If the pursuit of the higher godheads into their own sphere will be one of its endeavours, their return upon the earth-life to transform our vision of it will be its other side.

Exploitation or Education?

Under the above significant heading, a teacher points out the thoughtless selection of text books in our schools and the wrong method of instruction pursued therein, in the pages of *Everymans Review* for August. Says he:

One of Ruskin's prose-pieces published at a cheap cost was chosen for the first form; this had been once set for the matriculation examination. The working term began and the class-teacher found this a very hard nut to crack for himself, much worse was the experience of boys in the first lesson. So after a two days' trial the selection was given up to give place to another. Similar was the fate of two historical readers which were placed in the hands of two sister classes. The host of allusions to European History baffled even the professor of History—much more the poor matriculate teacher in charge.

Naturally I was very much touched by such instances of gross mal-selection. Questions like the

following occurred to my mind. Is our system of education planned nobly and conscientiously? What is the good of enforcing English publications full of English scenes upon young Indian minds when what is at home is totally lost sight of? Is the doctrine of 'from the near to the remote' only meant in theory? Are we not blindly grinding at the mill of text-books?

From the standpoint of cost the system of fresh books every year imposes a heavy strain upon the parents' purses. Educational experimenting annually, to please the whim of this or that officer, should be condemned. No harm can result from the introduction of one set of good books used from year to year, say, for a period of five years. With regard to English readers especially a uniform plan is very important and this should be followed closely to give good results.

We have not shown any initiative in dealing with the education of our boys and youths. The question of what is worth knowing and how to impart the knowledge worth having has not engaged our attention. Our boys do not get the best culture and utility is not the characteristic of a good part of our educational curriculum.

Abridged editions hold the field. It is no matter for surprise that we come across boys to whom the 'Deserted Village' and the 'Elegy in a Country Church-yard' are as well known as Chinese or Japanese.

I said abridged authors rule the day. These, in their turn, are boiled down in handy summaries which are a favourite with boys. The living teacher, in spite of his work howsoever excellent, sinks into insignificance by the side of the clever annotator and summary-maker.

The Revolution in Education.

The upbringing and education of the little ones are engaging the serious attention of people in all civilised countries. The old idea of shutting up children within the four walls of a room and stuffing their brains with knowledge which is too heavy for them, is being given up gradually and children are taken out of the cramping atmosphere of the school room and reared in the open air and allowed to take their lessons by themselves from Nature's open book. This is as it should be.

Margaret Macmillan writing in the *Mysore Economic Journal* for June tells us of the wonderful work of the camp-school. "The problem of the slum has been solved, once and for all, by the camp-school," says she. We are told, the cost of the school averages only £9 per annum for every child (inclusive). The capital expenditure in building is a little over £3 per head. Our educationists please note.

Says the writer:

The human infant is, as a rule, born healthy, and he needs only the things that will keep him so. That is natural food or the best substitute that can be found for it, also a clean, warm cradle, fresh air,

space, and freedom in safe places. All kinds of pleasant things, food and grassy places, also sweet voices and words, kind glances, smiles, and objects, he will take hold of in his own way, and that very thoroughly. He will learn any language, however difficult, or even two. He will touch, taste, and handle freely, and he will make such rapid progress, and learn so thoroughly that nothing in later years can even compare with the progress of the first three years. And there is here no question of hurry, over-pressure, for babies do not learn like older children. They do not tax their brains, or wrinkle their brows. By the great highway of the sympathetic nerve, and mainly within the boundaries of the sympathetic system with its great terminus (the solar plexus) impressions travel.

Starved (in mind as well as in more obvious ways) anæmic, crooked, half-blind, with defective teeth, the children of to-day stand before us in a great multitude. Leaving their mentality out of account for the moment, the important thing one notes in a Health Centre, is, not that a vast number of children have bad teeth, or ear and eye ailments, but that the level of general health and muscular development for all children is a low one.

The new educational part is not new. It is an old long covered trail—a trail that tends to be overgrown by every new and hastening civilisation. These civilisations tend to abbreviate and condense not only life processes but all its provisions and arrangements, and in the midst of this whirlwind of 'progress' the modes of life and growth peculiar to the very young are forgotten. Their physical need to learn, and enjoy, and take hold of the world by experiences and work that involves the activity of all the organs of the sympathetic system, (that "motor tramway" of the whole body) is ignored, or regarded very little, and the young are confronted with a life that cannot be lived in its fullness. They learn the abbreviations that are for them often mere catchwords. They cease to experience deep emotion, or feeling in learning. They learn superficially. The extent of the injury that has been done to them is indicated in the calm dictum "secondary" education is for the minority, and higher education for the few. The fact is that the average child is of high promise at birth. If the majority turn out flippant, or superficial thinkers, if their sympathies are narrow or shallow, and their interests few, that is because they did not live in the first years and learn as they might have lived and learned.

This is how the school is worked.

Theoretically we should have started our new order of nursery and school with the babies. But we had to start with the children between seven and fourteen. A sleeping pavilion, and very simple bath house and work shed were put up in a cleared space behind the crowded street, at a cost of about £200. This is the home, practically, of fifty to sixty boys and girls (the girls have their own night camp of course) in summer and winter, and by night and day. Their parents and homes are close. They go home to dinner every day, but they have the other meals in camp. They bathe daily, and wash often. They dance, and play cricket; they learn to make cups and vessels from clay, to build a shelter, to plant, and dig, to cook a simple meal, and to draw on canvas. Also they attack the three R's with their whole body in the open, instead of taking them with aching head and tense forefingers at a desk. They are expected to learn, and do learn at a good swinging pace, but not

before they have lived and have had an emotional life of some depth and reality. They learn in small classes of fifteen to twenty-five. They draw maps on the earth and floor, and they have rambles, and outings and also friends who write to them and send them post-cards, and who paint to them in words the charm of other lands and countries. They hear tales in the lighted pavilion after dusk. The night wind, and the dawn, the hail, the rain, and the rainbow are their friends, also the night sky, and the quiet companies of the stars. In winter they sleep and live outdoors as in summer, and their best health records were taken in January.

The *Educational Review* for July has an important article from the pen of K. B. Ramanathan entitled

The Development of Literary Kinds

from which we are glad to present a few extracts to our readers.

Each literature is regarded as a distinct entity, the language in which it is embodied sufficiently differentiating it from others. We have not yet arrived at the stage when we can regard all literatures as the manifestation of the human spirit, as having a unity and as capable of a treatment in the large way that is possible with regard to history and philosophy. "When we speak of the study of philosophy, what we have in mind is not the reading of Greek philosophic writers by persons interested in Greek studies, and the reading of German philosophers by persons interested in German studies, and the like : apart from all this we recognise that there is the thing philosophy, with an independent interest and history of its own, the whole being something quite different from the sum of the parts." Similarly Tacitus and Livy, Xenophon and Thucydides, Gibbon and Macaulay are not Latin or Greek authors or English authors so much as historians and there is a unity of history. But in the case of literature we have not come to such a unified conception yet.

Literature must be realised as an entity independent of the languages it uses, independent of authors functioning it. The study of literature with its development and critical principles, independent of languages embodying it, independent of questions affecting the performance of particular authors, has been pompously called *litteratology*. If literature is recognised as a social phenomenon, as Mme. De Staël suggested it was, long ago, the new science will rank as a sociological, anthropological or human science. Such a line of study is taken up by writers like Messrs. H. M. Posnett, A. S. Mackenzie and Moulton.

The evolutionary idea should be applied to the various activities of man : among other things, to literature.

Literature appears as one of the arts, one of the fine arts, though it is difficult to extrude the useful side of arts in the larger sense. Just as spoken language

in its present form may be shown to have risen from all but inarticulate cries or exclamations of the savage, as all forms of written language, of painting and sculpture have their origin in the rude drawings on skins and cavern walls by which savages celebrated the notable achievements of their chiefs, so out of the dances of the savage combining rhythm in speech, rhythm in sound, and rhythm in motion, the arts of poetry, music and dancing have developed.

M. F. Brunetiere was among men of letters the one who made the most striking application of the evolutionary principle to the study of French literature. *The development of literary kinds* means according to him five things : 1. The existence of *Genres*. These are then merely convenient categories, imagined by the critic for his own delectation, conceptions to co-ordinate and unify characteristics infinitely diverse and confusing otherwise. Are they existing independently in nature and in history ? Suppose they exist. How do they disengage themselves from their earlier stage of primitive indeterminateness ? It is plainly analogous to our trying to know how in natural history from one primordial homogeneous substance the individuals detach themselves in their particular forms and become thus the stock of varieties, races and species. 3. Again as in nature when circumstances favour such a thing the species are not incapable of permanence and fixity. These are periods when particular kinds of literature spring up and flourish and decay. Then the kinds get modified. 5. Lastly there is the transformation of one into another kind because of such modification. The French tragedy is an illustrious literary kind. Every thing useful is known of its birth, growth, culmination and decline and fall. In the pulpit eloquence of the 17th century France we have an example of a literary transformation into the later lyrical poetry of Lamartine, d'Hugo and de Musset. In the history of the French romance we have an example of a *genre* fashioned out of the debris of many others.

"Certain works of literature have a general resemblance and are loosely classed together (for the sake of convenience) as lyric, comedy, tragedy, epic, pastoral and the like ; the classicists made of each of these divisions a fixed norm governed by inviolable laws. The separation of *genres* was a consequence of this law of classicism : comedy should not be mingled with tragedy, nor epic with lyric. But no sooner was the law enunciated than it was broken by an artist impatient or ignorant of its restraints, and the critics have been obliged to explain away these violations of their laws, or gradually to change the laws themselves. But if art is organic expression, and every work is to be interrogated with the question, 'what has it expressed, and how completely ?' there is no place for the question whether it has conformed to some convenient classification of critics or to some law derived from this classification. The lyric, the pastoral, the epic, are abstractions without concrete reality in the world of art. Poets do not write epics, pastorals, lyrics ; they express themselves, and this expression is their only form. There are not, therefore, only three or ten or a hundred literary kinds ; there are as many kinds as there are individual poets."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Decadent Movement in Literature.

Arthur Symons, in the course of a brilliant critical review contributed to the *London Quarterly Review*, speaks of the Decadent, Symbolist and Impressionist schools of literature, and introduces us to their main apostles. Lovers and writers of Bengali poetry, especially those belonging to the Tagore cult, will be interested to read the paragraph dealing with *le vers libre*, as we all know of the unique success achieved by Rabindranath Tagore in his very recent attempts at *vers libre*. Says Mr. Symons :

The most representative literature of the day—the writing which appeals to, which has done so much to form, the younger generation—is certainly not Classic, nor has it any relation with that old antithesis of the Classic, the Romantic. After a fashion it is no doubt a decadence; it has all the qualities that mark the end of great periods, the quantities that we find in the Greek, the Latin, decadence: an intense self-consciousness, restless curiosity in research, an over-subtilizing refinement upon refinement, a spiritual and moral perversity. If what we call the classic is indeed the supreme art—those qualities of perfect simplicity, perfect sanity, perfect proportion, the supreme qualities—then this representative literature of today, interesting, beautiful, novel as it is, is really a new and beautiful and interesting disease. Healthy we cannot call it, and healthy it does not wish to be considered. For its very disease of form, this literature is certainly typical of a civilisation grown over-luxurious, over-inquiring, too languid for the relief of action, too uncertain for any emphasis in opinion or in conduct. It reflects all the moods, all the manners, of a sophisticated society; its very artificiality is a way of being true to nature; simplicity, sanity, proportion—the classic qualities—how much do we possess them in our life, our surroundings, that we should look to find them in our literature—so evidently the literature of a decadence?

Impressionist and Symbolist have more in common than either supposes; both are really working on the same hypothesis, applied in different directions. What both seek is not general truth merely, but *la verite vraie*, the very essence of truth—the truth of appearances to the senses, of the visible world to the eyes that see it; and the truth of spiritual things to the spiritual vision. The Impressionist, in literature as in painting, would flash upon you in a new, sudden way so exact an image of what you have just seen, just as you have seen it, that you may say, as a young American sculptor, a pupil of Rodin, said to me on seeing for the first time a picture of Whistler's, "Whistler seems to think his picture upon canvas—and there it is!" Or you may find, with Sainte-Beuve, writing of Goncourt, the "soul of the landscape"—the soul of whatever corner of the visible world has to be realized. The Symbolist, in this new,

sudden way, would flash upon you the "soul" of that which can be apprehended only by the soul—the finer sense of things evident. And, naturally, necessarily, this endeavour after a perfect truth to one's impression, to one's intuition—perhaps an impossible endeavour—has brought with it, in its revolt from ready-made impressions and conclusions, a revolt from the ready-made language, from the bondage of traditional form, of a form become rigid. In France, where this movement began and has mainly flourished, it is Goncourt who was the first to invent a style in prose really new, impressionistic, a style which was itself almost sensation. It is Verlaine who has invented such another new style in verse.

What the Goncourts have done is to specialize vision, so to speak, and to subtilize language to the point of rendering every detail in just the form and color of the actual impression. Edmond de Goncourt once said to me—varying, if I remember rightly, an expression he had put into the *Journal*—"My brother and I invented an opera glass: the young people nowadays are taking it out of our hands."

An opera glass—a special, unique way of seeing things—that is what the Goncourts have brought to bear upon the common things about us; and it is here that they have done the "something new," here more than anywhere. They have never sought "to see life steadily and see it whole": their vision has always been somewhat feverish, with the diseased sharpness of over-excited nerves. "We do not hide from ourselves that we have been passionate, nervous creatures, unhealthily impressionable," confesses the *Journal*. But it is this morbid intensity in seeing and seizing things that has helped to form that marvelous style—"a style perhaps too ambitious of impossibilities," as they admit—a style which inherits some of its color from Gautier, some of its fine outline from Flaubert, but which has brought light and shadow into the color, which has softened outline in the magic of atmosphere. With them words are not merely color and sound, they live. That search after *l'image peinte l'epithete rare*, is not (as with Flaubert) a search after harmony of phrase for its own sake; it is a desperate endeavor to give sensation, to flash the impression of the moment, to preserve the very heat and motion of life. And so, in analysis as in description, they have found out a way of noting the fine shades; they have broken the outline of the conventional novel in chapters, with its continuous story, in order to indicate—sometimes in a chapter of half a page—this and that revealing moment, this or that significant attitude or accident or sensation. For the placid traditions of French prose they have had but little respect.

What Goncourt has done in prose—inventing absolutely a new way of saying things, to correspond with that new way of seeing things, which he has found—Verlaine has done in verse.

Music first of all and before all, he insists; and then, not color, but *la nuance*, the last fine shade. Poetry is to be something vague, intangible, evanescent, a winged soul in flight "toward other skies and other loves." To express the inexpressible he speaks of beautiful eyes behind a veil, of the palpi-

tating sunlight of noon, of the blue swarm of clear stars in a cool autumn sky: and the verse in which he makes this confession of faith has the exquisite troubled beauty—"sans rien en lui qui pese ou qui pose"—which he commends as the essential quality of verse. In a later poem of poetical counsel he tells us that art should, first of all, be absolutely clear, absolutely sincere.

To fix the last fine shade, the quintessence of things; to fix it fleetingly; to be a disembodied voice, and yet the voice of a human soul: that is the ideal of Decadence, and it is what Paul Verlaine has achieved. And certainly, so far as achievement goes, no other poet of the actual group in France can be named beside him or near him. In Stéphane Mallarmé, with his supreme pose as the supreme poet, and his two or three pieces of exquisite verse and delicately artificial prose to show by way of result, we have the prophet and pontiff of the movement, the mystical and theoretical leader of the great emancipation. No one has ever dreamed such beautiful, impossible dreams as Mallarmé; no one has ever so possessed his soul in the contemplation of masterpieces to come. All his life he has been haunted by the desire to create, not so much something new in literature, as a literature which should itself be a new art. He has dreamed of a work into which all the arts should enter, and achieve themselves by a mutual interdependence—a harmonizing of all the arts into one supreme art—and he has theorized with infinite subtlety over the possibilities of doing the impossible. An aristocrat of letters, Mallarmé has always looked with intense disdain on the indiscriminate accident of universal suffrage. He has wished neither to be read nor to be understood by the bourgeois intelligence, and it is with some deliberateness of intention that he has made both issues impossible. Catulle Mendès defines him admirably as "a difficult author," and in his latest period he has succeeded in becoming absolutely unintelligible. The latest poems (in which punctuation is sometimes entirely suppressed, for our further bewilderment) consist merely of a sequence of symbols, in which every word must be taken in a sense with which its ordinary significance has nothing to do. Mallarmé's contortion of the French language, so far as mere style is concerned, is curiously similar to the kind of depravation which was undergone by the Latin language in its decadence. It is, indeed, in part a reversion to Latin phraseology, to the Latin construction, and it has made, of the color and flowing French language, something irregular, unquiet, expressive, with sudden surprising felicities, with nervous starts and lapses, with new capacities for the exact noting of sensation. Alike to the ordinary and to the scholarly reader it is painful, intolerable; a jargon, a massacre. Supremely self-confident, and backed, certainly, by an ardent following of the younger generation, Mallarmé goes on his way, experimenting more and more audaciously, having achieved by this time, at all events, a style wholly his own.

Probably it is as a voice, an influence, that Mallarmé will be remembered. His personal magnetism has had a great deal to do with the making of the very newest French literature; few literary beginners in Paris have been able to escape the rewards and punishments of his contact, his suggestion. In regard to the construction of verse, Mallarmé has always remained faithful to the traditional syllabic measurement; but the freak of the discovery of *le vers libre* is certainly the natural

consequence of his experiments upon the elasticity of rhythm, upon the power of resistance of the caesura. *Le vers libre* in the hands of most of the experimenters becomes merely rhymeless, irregular prose. I never really understood the charm that may be found in this apparently structureless rhythm until I heard Dujardin read aloud the as yet unpublished conclusion of a dramatic poem in several parts. It was rhymed, but rhymes with some irregularity, and the rhythm was purely and simply a vocal effect. The rhythm came and went as the spirit moved. You might deny that it was rhythm at all; and yet, read as I heard it read, in a sort of slow chant, it produced on me the effect of really beautiful verse. But *vers libres* in the hands of a sciolist are the most intolerable and easy and annoying of poetical exercises.

Joris Karl Huysmans demands a prominent place in any record of the Decadent movement. His work, like that of the Goncourts, is largely determined by the *maladie fin de siècle*—the diseased nerves that, in his case, have given a curious personal quality of pessimism to his outlook on the world, his view of life. Part of his work—*Marthe*, *Les Soeurs Vatard*, *En Menage A Van-Peau*—is a minute and searching study of the minor discomforts, the commonplace miseries of life, as seen by a peevishly disordered vision, delighting, for its own self-torture, in the insistent contemplation of human stupidity, of the sordid in existence. Yet these books do but lead up to the unique masterpiece, the astonishing caprice of *A Rebours*, in which he has concentrated all that is delicately depraved, all that is beautifully, curiously poisonous, in modern art. *A Rebours* is the history of a typical Decadent—a study, indeed, after a real man, but a study which seizes the type rather than the personality.

It is on that one exceptional achievement, *A Rebours*, that his fame will rest; it is there he has expressed not merely himself, but an epoch. And he has done so in a style which carries the modern experiments upon language to their furthest development. Formed upon Goncourt and Flaubert, it has sought for novelty, *l'image peinte*, the exactitude of color, the forcible precision of epithet, wherever words, images or epithets are to be found. Barbaric in its profusion, violent in its emphasis, wearying in its splendour, it is—especially in regard to things seen—extraordinarily expressive, with all the shades of a painter's palette. Elaborately and deliberately perverse, it is in its very perversity that Huysman's work—so fascinating, so repellant, so instinctively artificial—comes to represent, as the work of no other writer can be said to do, the main tendencies, the chief results, of the Decadent movement in literature.

Hope in Bad Times.

Whatever calamity the war may bring upon civilization and the human race, however monstrous man's misdeeds have been, the qualities of kindness, pity, honor and devotion to noble ideas are bound to endure. Thus asserts a writer in the *Nation*.

If the depth of sorrow is the memory of past happiness, some alleviation may be gained by remembering unhappier things. In times of extreme adversity and suspense, it is safest to grant the worst at once. Let it be granted, then, that much of man's history is a record of brutality.

Let it be granted that the present slaughter, the present anguish of suspense, and the present fear for all that a free and self-reliant people has most valued, come to us only in natural succession to the Persians' attempts to exterminate Greece, to Sparta's destruction of Athenian individualism, and to the desolation brought by earlier barbarians upon the civilized world. Still we need not assume that man's belief in violence as advantageous, and in bloodshed as medicinal, are permanently characteristic of his nature. We have all his religion, much of his poetry, a fair amount of his philosophy, and some of his history, which assume and even prove the contrary. The daily lives of millions—the true average of living—are a testimony against it. Even the contemplation of those ancient disasters reveals a real change, which, for want of a stronger word, we call progress or improvement. Horrors are perpetrated, as in all wars from the beginning; but, beyond a certain limit, their perpetration raises a protest even in the nation guilty of them—a slight protest, but stronger than any we read in the Book of Joshua or even in the history of Greece, except as coming from a few unusual minds.

The New Provincialism.

The war has put limitations on the freedom of movement and choice of people engaged in the war. Pre-war conditions have all been upset giving place to economy with regard to food, clothing, fuel and even the social amenities of life. The rich and poor have suddenly been brought to the same level not only in the field of battle but away from it, in their homes, in the matter of cutting down all superfluities and in the want of leisure, which was up till now the special privilege of people possessing money. Now-a-days money is no concern. One good effect has been that the more or less artificial life of the rich and professional men has ceased to exist and they have been brought face to face with the realities of life. A writer talks of all these things in the pages of *The Spectator*: He says:

It is not easy, no doubt, to say what provincialism means. It has no longer any exclusively local suggestion. It suggests limits rather than locality, and all limitations are narrowing whether they are imposed upon us by the circumstances of our peaceful village environment or by the world catastrophe of a great war.

Already the professional man and woman feel a new sympathy for the poor—not a new pity, but a new understanding of the limitations imposed by lack of leisure, especially the lack of society.

The women and children at home not to speak of the young men at the front, have moved nearer to one another, and must, we think, henceforth regard life more nearly from the same point of view, a more matter-of-fact and primitive one, a more limited and realistic one, than—so far as educated women are concerned—they have ever done before. Is this regrettable? We

suppose not; but it is idle to say that many of us will not regret it. It was wrong, no doubt, of the better-off folk to take the ease of life for granted, to forget the endless toil which made of the great towns one huge shop where everything had its price and nothing that could be desired could not be seen and where an artificial life seemed the only natural one. If we live another ten or twenty years, we shall many of us look back to it and tell young people about it as a time of great happiness. It produced a type which has been very suddenly broken. The stamp of the war broke it.

John Redmond.

An informative impression of John Redmond, the great Irish leader, appears in the *Contemporary Review* from the pen of Harold Spender. The following extracts from the article under notice will be found interesting.

John Redmond understood Ireland. He was Irish from head to foot in every thought and feeling, in every affection and pursuit.

Being Irish he was not in the least degree a revolutionary. On the contrary, he was in general politics a Conservative. It is only stupid people who imagine that because the Irish Nationalists want Home Rule they are therefore in any sense revolutionary or even Radical. No race in the past has shown less sympathy with the democratic revolutionary movements of Europe. It was solely a matter of high politics that he should work and vote with the British Liberal Party. He did it because he had made up his mind that it was the only way to get Home Rule for Ireland. Having once made up his mind he never changed it. He pursued his course with extraordinary persistence.

In most ways, John Redmond was just a Tory of the Center. He was not even a Tory Democrat. He was, indeed, a conventional Catholic in regard to all matters of education. He was a small squire and he was all against land nationalization. His ideas of land reform stopped, like those of most Irishmen, at the point of desiring peasant proprietorship. There his feeling for his race was reinforced by a strong belief that peasant proprietorship would give ballast and weight to the new Irish social fabric whenever Home Rule was once established.

Redmond's whole heart went out to Nationalism of that old-fashioned type which now in this country is tending to fade before the new class warfare.

His passion for the war against Germany was absolutely sincere. It was partly the passion of a Catholic who saw a Catholic country being ravaged and Catholics being slaughtered by a great Protestant Power. It was partly the sympathy of a chivalric man for a little nation. In any case, no one who knew him could doubt that it was fiercely honest and passionate—so passionate that for the moment he was carried off his feet and taken out of that calm, cautious mood which had hitherto made him infinitely calculating in all his dealings with Englishmen. For once he let himself go. He trusted England. He showed what all his friends knew, that at heart he was a simple-minded man. But complete as his confidence was in British sympathy at that high moment, absolute as was his trust, just so deep and so wrathful was his passion of resent-

ment when England failed to respond. In October, 1916, some time after the Irish Rebellion, I spent a long morning with him at his flat, and heard from his mouth, in the form of a criticism of the War Office in its dealings with Ireland since 1914, one of the most scathing indictments of our rule in Ireland that, I suppose, he has ever uttered.

Personally, John Redmond was one of the simplest of men. In Ireland he lived, in a shooting box that once belonged to Parnell, the life of the Irish squire—hunting, riding and fishing—always with the keenest enjoyment of that happy, open-air life of his own land. In London he resided in a small, very simply furnished flat in Wynnstay Gardens, Kensington. He went little into London society. He generally dined with his wife in the Harcourt Room. Of her I will only say that no politician could have wished for a more devoted partner of his labors. She stood and worked by his side through all the hardest and most critical years of his stormy career.

Family affection was with him, as with most Irishmen, a very profound passion. The devotion he showed to his wife was reflected in all his other family relationships. The fact that his brother Willie and he had married sisters doubtless drew them together by closer ties. But "Willie" always held his heart.

When his brother was killed on the field of battle John Redmond was a stricken man. Willie's death went to the heart of John Redmond, and from that moment he was not the same man. It so happened that shortly before he had lost a daughter in America. Owing to the war he had been unable to go to her. Of that distant death in exile he spoke to me with breaking voice and tears in his eyes.

He was one of the world's few great orators. I have heard him countless times in the House of Commons—I have listened to him on public platforms

above all, in Ireland, among his own people. Everywhere he struck the same high note. He was never small. He was among those speakers who lift you instantly from the valleys to the splendid heights. There he walked with ease, dignity and a certain majesty which awed his listeners. He used few notes, often none. He was always studiously temperate, and with this end in view he prepared his speeches with great care.

Like Parnell, he was not a great reader, except of newspapers. He knew the use and value of the Press, and in this delicate relationship he was always easy of access and frank of view.

He felt very deeply the breakdown of the Home Rule negotiations in 1916. He laid the blame on British statesmanship. He always held that pledges had been given to him which made it a necessity of honor that the British Coalition of the moment—Mr. Asquith's Coalition—ought to have resigned unless they carried the settlement through. He had nothing but praise for Sir Edward Carson's share in those transactions. Ireland was the center of his stage—the apple of his heart's desire. To him—and may he not possibly have been right?—it was the test issue of the war. By her treatment of Ireland all England's high professions were to be judged. "It is vain to talk morality to Germany," he would say, "as long as Ireland is ruled as she is. It is vain to hope for the best efforts from America—it is also vain to hope for the best from the Dominions. It is vital—it is a world issue!"

Like most Irishmen, Redmond was inclined to be an Imperialist. It is partly that they like the pomp of Empire; partly because they are very closely associated with the Dominions. The Australian wives of the Redmonds linked the brothers closely with the Empire. But in that they were only typical of many Irish families.

THE ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF ART

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

UPON few subjects has so much philosophical moonshine been shed as upon that of aesthetics. Owing to the disquisitions of philosophers, the question of beauty has been shrouded in such impenetrable mystery that the ordinary layman shrinks from expressing himself upon the subject. Art we take for granted, but beauty, which is the quality of art and the subject-matter of aesthetics, we scarcely dare venture an opinion upon, lest we should bring down the anathemas of a whole host of critics and philosophers. Yet just because so much has been said concerning beauty, its meaning and value,—so much that is confusing, contradictory and mysterious,—by the metaphysicians,

one feels the need of the layman's interpretation, of a clear and practical statement upon the subject. Right down to modern times, almost every thinker and philosopher who has worked out a theory of life has dealt with the question of beauty, aesthetics. To some, beauty is a Divine Essence incapable of analysis. To others it is an illusion. To a very large number it is a purely subjective judgment, being absolutely devoid of objectivity, and thus of ethical significance. While to a few it is an objective reality, and is governed by the moral law. That great confusion exists in the minds of men and women as to the meaning and significance of beauty, one may soon prove by asking

one's friends to define it. Yet it is important that we should have sound and clear ideas on this subject in order that art may be made a more conscious and effective force, and play more fruitful.

For good or ill beauty exercises a tremendous influence upon most people's lives, determines their conduct to a far greater extent than they themselves realise; consequently we ought to know what beauty is, what is its function, what it is capable of doing. If beauty is a helpful force then we ought to make good use of it; but if 'a capricious, then we ought to know why, that we may be on our guard. Because beauty is a powerful factor in experience;—common-sense says that it must have some meaning for that experience. Consequently it will be our aim in the present article to show what that meaning is, the part beauty ought to play in the attainment of the Good of life.

With the view that beauty has and can have no universal standard, but is a purely subjective judgment, and exists solely to give pleasure, I am in entire disagreement. I cannot believe that such a powerful and universal force as beauty is devoid of objectivity, of all ethical significance, and thus of life-value. Nature does not work at random, for all her great creations are purposive, and serve in some way the great ends of life. It is not the object of beauty simply to give pleasure; for the simple reason that it always does so very much more. It is the nature of beauty to please,—which is why it attracts,—but beauty is a spiritual force and points to a deeper life beyond, for which reason, if we saw truly, we really love it. In the last article I assumed that art was a moral force which led to the good; in the present article I wish to prove that assumption, to show that art has its foundations in ethics, in spiritual need, and thus that every work of art is a judgment of value, an interpretation of life, a force for good or evil.

The question which naturally arises at this juncture, therefore, is this: is man a unity? or, in other words, is the instinct for beauty at one with the instinct for life? Is beauty a factor which man can use for the attainment of his purposes, for the realisation of life? or is it something apart, a means of harmless diversion, a sort of foil with which to relieve the ten-

sion caused by work, the monotony of life?

Perhaps the best way to answer these questions will be to study the things we call beautiful, to see if we can discover what it is causes us to pass such a judgment upon them. If we can find a universal cause we shall have proved that man is indeed a unity, that beauty is purposive and in no sense a capricious and incalculable force.

In the first place let us consider beauty with respect to the human body. Now what is it that determines our judgments of beauty in regard to the human body? Is there some standard from which we all judge? And if so, what is that standard? If we think a little I think we shall find that there is such a standard, and that it is health, strength, fitness to do all that it may be called upon to do. If we consider Greek statuary, which is universally acknowledged to be among the most beautiful in the world, we find that its models are of their heroes and heroines, their strong men and virtuous women, their warriors and athletes, men who were renowned for their strength, bravery and courage, and women for their noble-mindedness. To the Greeks strength and beauty always went together as parts of the same thing, and in all their statuary two things are manifest: (1) the subservience of the body to the mind, and (2) the identification of beauty with health and physical fitness; that body being counted beautiful which best enabled its owner to fulfil his purposes and attain his ends.

And the Greek idea is implicit in all abiding art. For who could or dare say that a statue of a human form, shaped altogether disadvantageously for the life and work of man, were beautiful? No one would ever dream of saying that a short leg or a hunched back was beautiful, or that a green complexion was beautiful. For the former are an indication of unfitness, while a green complexion is a sign of disease; and nothing that denotes ill-health can by any conceivable means be called beautiful. The woman who uses the rouge pot is the idle and unhealthy society dame who seeks to produce by artificial means what she has failed to produce by natural means. A complexion that has become blotchy or sallow, like a body that has become flabby

and useless, through idleness or over-eating, etc., could never be called beautiful by any sane person. The innumerable beauty-concoctions whose virtues are so bewitchingly described in all our newspapers, what are they but artificial devices for producing what immorality, bad habits, unnatural living, etc., have made naturally impossible? An unnatural life encourages and compels unnaturalness and falsehood all along the line, and gives rise either to a false standard of beauty, that must eventually prove fatal, or a false and disastrous method of producing it. In the end, and if progress and life are to continue, that body must be the criterion of beauty which is in strict subjection to the mind, and which gives evidence of health, freedom, and great energy, ability to carry out worthy objects, heroic purposes. Because the human body is subject to the laws of health, such laws must determine our ideas of its beauty. To aspire after physical beauty therefore is to aspire after health; in fact beauty is the quality which lures us to the ways and habits of health.

That the idea of utility is the source of our conception of architectural beauty is proved by the existence of laws of construction. Were an architect to build a temple according to the dictates of a roving fancy, with spans, arches and colonnades stuck in anywhere, who would have the impertinence to call it beautiful? That colonnades and arches are beautiful scarcely anyone will deny, but who dare say they are beautiful when placed where they are not needed, where they serve no useful function? Pillars in a temple, which blocked the view and yet served no useful purpose could only be counted ugly. Buildings have to be supported somehow, and the pillar is one of the best means of doing this, and it is precisely because of this noble function that the pillar and the arch have become the objects of such profound admiration. The beautiful curves to be found in Roman and Gothic arches are not the fabrications of a roaming fancy, but are lines of strength, pure lines; and it is the consciousness of their strength, of their utility, that is, causes us to pronounce them beautiful.

So also in regard to sound and colour, it is a belief in utility that is the cause of all our judgments of beauty. With respect to simple sounds we call those beautiful which express joy and gladness, and which

are the sign of a free, hearty, cheerful disposition, and those horrible which reveal a want of good feeling, express anger, hatred, thoughtlessness, etc. In music that is accorded beautiful which expresses aspiration, enthusiasm, sympathy, victory, and that horrible which expresses tawdry sentiment, pessimism, a love of dissipation, etc. The Greeks were very careful about the kind of music they permitted their children to hear, lest their characters should be weakened. And is it not the case that in the army only heroic and spirited music is allowed? Moreover it is significant that most teachers of singing now insist on their pupils cultivating a cheerful disposition, in order that they may be able to produce joyous and inspiring music. The narrow-minded, ill-tempered, cantankerous person simply cannot produce the round open tones that are needed in all the best music. Art is to gladden, to elevate men, but how can a singer do that if he has not a cheerful and buoyant disposition? A surly temperament is a vice around the throat, which hardens the tone and thus prevents the production of good or elevating music.

As regards colour it is now being discovered that there is a close connection between temperament and colour, that colours act on the mind in much the same that sounds do. And it is a well-recognised fact that certain colours, if made too prominent, will have a depressing effect upon the mind. Experiments have shown that to live in a room lined with purple and lit up by a purple light, will bring on madness in a very short time. Red has a similar but less powerful effect. That is why these colours ought to be used in moderation. White is always suggestive of purity, innocence and hope; thus it is used at Christenings and marriages, to adorn women and children, and in the East to adorn the bodies of the departed. Black is sombre and depressing, and helps to create a gloomy state of mind; for which reason it is always used sparingly, except for mourning. When we say that a person is beautifully dressed we mean that the colour effect is pleasant, elevating. An adorned person is an inspiration, but a human being in gorgeous colours is a nightmare.

It is also the case that a sense of utility lies behind our love of Nature, causes us to see beauty in Nature. There is in man a

sense of kinship with Nature, and also of the mystery of Nature. And mystery is always attractive to man, in that it acts as a challenge to him, fills him with a desire to fathom it. It is because man feels his kinship with, and desires to probe and learn of, Nature that is the cause of his love of Nature. Primitive man made of Nature a religion; which was his way of interpreting and conquering Nature. And as man came to see Will, or law, and purpose in Nature he came to recognise her beauty, and thus to study her in detail. Accordingly the Greeks were drawn to the study of astronomy through their sense of the beautiful, the perception of the rhythmic harmony of the starry host; while the Hebrew love of Nature was the outcome of their strong religious sense, of the belief that Nature was part of God's glorious handiwork. But whether the attraction of Nature be the outcome of poetic or religious feeling, it leads to inquiry into the why and wherefore of its being, out of which springs both material and spiritual advantage, poetry and the sciences.

The same conclusion is also reached if we study the likes and dislikes of children. If we observe closely we shall find that a child's ideas of beauty and ugliness are founded on the idea of utility. To the child ugliness and evil are the same thing, just as are goodness and beauty, and no child would ever dream of separating them. In its ignorance a child will often show affection for things that are offensive and dangerous; but as soon as it learns their real nature it begins to regard them as horrible and ugly. And is it not the case that most people look upon certain things as ugly which the majority of people think beautiful, just because of an unpleasant childhood experience? To the child what is injurious or brutal is ugly.

And so it is all the way round: the final and irrevocable standard of beauty is utility, or a belief in utility. A man's ideas of beauty may change considerably from time to time, but the cause of such change is enlightenment, new knowledge in regard to the purpose of a thing or things. A girl of seventeen just awakening to the reality of love may feel that the sentimental opera, with its exaggerated love interest, is the very perfection of art; but she will not think so when her horizon has broadened and she

has begun to realise the wider and larger issues of life. The scenes of revelry and dissipation which sometimes delight the young and thoughtless are regarded with horror when the years of thought and discretion have appeared.

Our ideas of beauty being founded on a belief in utility, it follows that to seek beauty is to seek life. It also follows that beauty is an objective reality, and is not, what so many have thought it, a merely subjective and thus a capricious judgment. Where ideas of beauty differ, it is because of ignorance as to the nature and value of the things considered. And indeed this must be so seeing that man is a unity, an ego who naturally seeks his highest good. The power to perceive beauty is a faculty of the soul, a part of the ego which is ever seeking to realise itself. Just because man is a unity, a self, beauty must have a definite meaning for him.

It is only in a purposeless, idle society that the idea takes root that beauty is a purely subjective judgment, and that its sole object is to give pleasure. But we need not be surprised at this, for how can true ideas about anything spring from a life that is false and unnatural? The workless life is torn by a thousand hankerings, which, under the circumstances, cannot possibly find satisfaction. Work is ballast to life, the means of developing insight, of creating spiritual need and the means whereby such need may be satisfied.

To deny utility to beauty, ultimate spiritual value to art, is to divorce beauty and art from morality, from the soul's ultimate good, and to justify every impulse and desire for pleasure. And it only needs to be shown that many things and acts which appear beautiful, and seem to promise pleasure and life, are really evil, physically and spiritually harmful, to reveal the absurdity of calling them beautiful. It is ignorance that is the cause of false notions of beauty, and without thought there can be no guarantee that our judgments of beauty are valid. Selfhood implies purpose, and purpose implies morality and thought; for without purpose there could be no moral values, no good and evil, no better and worse, no progress: every event would be a mere happening. Purpose is the great unifying principle in human experience that which gives character, charm, vitality, savour to life.

Now a judgment of beauty is a judgment of the sane mind which works towards ends, seeks a certain good, and endeavours to realise life in a thousand activities and experiences. From which it follows that a judgment of beauty must, as an act of the self, be made with reference to and in consistency with the purpose which, consciously or unconsciously, is at the root of every life. Even the things we do instinctively, without ever thinking about them, are, when we come to examine them, in accordance with the fundamental purpose of our life. It is true that the subconscious mind is wrapped in mystery, but the more we know of it the more we find that it is the servant of conscious mind, and quite at one with it. The subconscious mind is not an arbitrary and capricious agent, but a veritable part of the self, and works, as Kant and Hegel have shown, with marvellous precision in accordance with principles. Every experience, every emotion leaves an impression upon, and gives a bias to, the mind, according to its value or supposed value; and these are the factors which govern the subconscious mind. And in regard to new objects and experiences which we are inclined to call beautiful, it is a force of attraction, which is really a promise of good, leads us to make such judgment. Probably this force of attraction is the result of an analogy with some other object or experience with which we are familiar and which we know to be good. But this feeling of attraction is the cause of our denominating such things beautiful; and at root it is the promise of well-being.

That our judgments of beauty are determined by our purposes, is proved by the modification which takes place in such judgments after we have changed our general outlook upon life. A man of the world who suddenly turned Roman Catholic, or a Salvationist who became Latitudinarian, would find the whole world changed, both in appearance and significance—in appearance because in significance. Old things would have passed away and all things become new. New truth leaps into the mind like a flash, as if it had been thrown there by a god, and floods everything with its effulgence creating for man a new heaven and a new earth. Conversions are the result of a deeper thinking, and are sudden illuminations of truth which transform all things,

and raise one to a higher level of experience. In the new world thus created everything will have a different value, in consequence of which all one's loves, interests and pursuits will naturally and inevitably have to be reconstituted.

Then, too, most people can point to the time when they first began to appreciate truth and beauty with respect to certain things. They can tell exactly when they began to appreciate Nature; when certain forms of music, or literature, first appealed to them; when human character began to have interest for them. Yet nature has been much the same throughout the ages. The explanation is that man only comes into the inheritance of beauty when his intelligence has developed sufficiently for him to perceive spiritual values. The external world changes little from age to age; but to men it changes wonderfully. As the aspiring soul develops, the mind begins to look farther afield for the means of self-advancement and self-realisation, with the result that one begins to see beauty and meaning in things that formerly were devoid of significance.

Thus beauty is a judgment of value founded on experience. Beauty is not a quality which exists in things apart from a judging mind, something that stands out in objects so that all are compelled to see it; yet it is not an arbitrary judgment, being in accordance with the nature of things, and thus as universal as mind. It only requires that the nature and value of a certain reality or experience shall be known in order to qualify it as beautiful or ugly; so that the growth of a knowledge of truth is sure to lead to universal standards of beauty.

The reason beauty is so often thought to be an arbitrary judgment is that it originates insensibility, being an expression of the harmony of the feelings. But what is the harmony of the feelings but a sign of truth, a recognition that a certain experience is at one with all our ideas and ideals? As a matter of fact a judgment of the feelings with respect to beauty is as logical and as trustworthy as a judgment of reason with respect to truth, as both are expressions of the harmony of the soul. In fact the domain of sensibility is broader than the domain of reason. A man's conscious life is never as wide as his subconscious life, just as his life is always broader than his creed, his philosophy.

Consequently there is no reason why feeling, if deliberately appealed to, should not give as true and trustworthy a decision as reason. A national judgment on life may be very logical and yet, on account of false first principles, be untrue. Feeling is as integral as thought, and is, if fully and deliberately regarded, able to guide man to the Good. The Good is the object of the whole self, sentient as well as rational, and is as jealously sought after by the one as by the other. Reason attains truth through logic, or the harmony of ideas, the sentient self through beauty, or the harmony of the feelings. In the former case truth is demonstrated, in the latter case it is felt. Strictly speaking, therefore, aesthetics is a part of ethics, being the presentation of truth at a stage further back than ethics, at the feeling or tentative stage, rather than at the logical or demonstrative stage.

Life is moral through and through, and nothing that a man does can strictly speaking, be called non-moral. Every act of a man's life affects his well-being, either creates or destroys life. In the same way every work of art is a judgment upon life, and is, whether we know it or not, either harmful or beneficial, the outcome and embodiment of a true or a false interpretation of life. Art is not a mere copy of external events, but an interpretation of experience in terms of value. And all valuation implies a standard from which to judge, a theory of values. No matter how simple the experience be which art attempts to portray, it exhibits the artist's estimate of its value, what it means to him, what he "sees" in it.

We hear a great deal in these days about realistic art, as if it were possible to depict the cold, bare facts of nature, of human conduct, etc., without imparting to them any personal touch—without, that is, interpreting them. Even if it were possible—which it is not—art would be robbed of all its spiritual and idealistic force, while the finest artist would be he who combined the finest executive power with the completest ignorance. The personal element will and must always enter into art, or it will be meaningless, dead. The man who paints even fields and buildings, without any soul in them does so because he himself is without soul. Whatever a man describes his object is and must be to convey a certain, meaning something that

he feels; otherwise he could not paint anything. The very fact of painting proves that something has attracted him; and the cause of such attraction is the meaning which the artist tries to convey, consciously or unconsciously.

To describe by means of art is to give meaning to things, to value experience; it is to put life in colour, and thus to make it attractive or repulsive according as we estimate it. To describe an experience in attractive colours is to say that it is good, has a certain life-value. Thus to describe a harmful experience in attractive colours would be to lie, and to lead many astray. Consequently, to represent an experience by means of art, without taking into consideration ultimate as well as immediate effects, is to become a danger to society. An unthinking artist is a snare, for art comes to close grips with life and vitally affects conduct through its influence upon the imagination. False art is that which makes evil attractive, and says, in effect, that evil is good. Thus the artist who describes scenes of revelry and self-indulgence, and stops his narrative just where the intoxication of pleasure reaches its height, may be a clever and powerful artist, but he is an evil teacher, a corrupt social force. The full and real effect of the experience he describes not being given, hence he is a deceiver, a liar.

Art reflects life, it is true; but not in the same way that water reflects the sky, for it interprets, imparts meaning and value to things. Art throws out from the gallery of the imagination scenes and pictures of life done up in the heart's own colours according to its estimate of their value. Thus art does not so much tell us what a thing is as what the heart feels about it. What the physical eye sees is the skeleton, so to speak, which the heart clothes and converts into a living thing. In other words, art is a beautiful teacher, being the revealer of the soul of things.

Such being the case art ought always to be the product of thought, a means of expressing such truth as the artist has garnered. The true artist is he who feels the deep harmonies of earth and heaven surging within his soul, which harmonies are the fruit of a wide and profitable experience. Every work of art deals with a section of experience, a portion of life separated from the whole, to which is im-

parted the truth of the whole. In the artist's mind the details of life stand out significant, as parts of an illuminated whole, the truth and significance of which they embody. In art, life is spread out in colour, as it were, each part being interpreted according to the artist's estimate of its value. To the ordinary mind life is a medley of duties whose meaning is not understood, a conglomeration of activities

which have their origin in custom and physical necessity; whereas to the artist life is a whole of truth which he endeavours to portray in its appropriate light and shade. It follows, therefore, that every artist ought to be something of a philosopher. For man, as an aspiring soul, needs teachers, artists to interpret life, to point the way to the fountain whose waters are life.

NOTES

A Contemporary Writer on Ram Mohun Roy.

Eighty-five years ago Raja Ram Mohun Roy breathed his last at Bristol. As he died on the 27th of September, meetings are held every year on that day in most provinces of India in honour of his memory, and a temporary interest is created in his personality and career. In view of the approaching anniversary it may be interesting to read what a contemporary English writer wrote about him. There is a book called *Considerations on the State of British India* by Lieutenant A. White, "of the Bengal Native Infantry." It was published in 1822. The following passages are taken from that book:—

"When we look back to the profound abyss in which the human mind was sunk in Europe, from the third to the fourteenth century, and recollect what the discovery of the art of printing did in raising humanity from this depression, is it too much to expect that the same beneficial influence will result from its application to Indian literature? This alone may effect a moral change in the vast continent of Asia. Already the dawn of improvement has manifested itself; the celebrated Brahmin Rammohun Rae having demonstrated, from the Vedas, that the unity of the Supreme Being is inculcated in these works, and that he alone is the object of worship. He regards the worship of inferior deities, the institution of castes, the restrictions with regard to food, and numerous observances of this faith, as aids required by the imperfections of the human faculties, and which may be discarded by those who have attained to the knowledge of this truth. He has established a small sect in Calcutta, the worship of which approaches nearly to that of a philosophical deism. It is encumbered with no dogmas or ceremonies; it consists principally of hymns expressing the unity of the Supreme Being, the love which human creatures owe to the benevolent author of their existence, and the beauty and grandeur visible in his works. I write from recollection of a translation of one of these hymns

which appeared in a Calcutta newspaper, and may be in error as to the character which I have ascribed to their worship; but such is the present impression upon my mind. It is a mistake to suppose that the lower orders of the Hindoos are ignorant of the existence of the Supreme Being; at least, they are familiar with the name, independent of the Hindoo trinity, Brahma, Vishnoo, and Shiva; but what is remarkable, no separate worship is paid to the Creator. In this respect, they are precisely on the same footing with the Catholics, with whom the intellectual idea of the Deity is effaced, by the more powerful impression which is made upon the senses by the visible representations of the virgin or the saints. This enlightened Hindoo Rammohun, has rendered a signal service to his countrymen in exposing the cruelty and injustice of the practice which condemns a widow to sacrifice herself on the funeral pile of her husband; he has endeavoured to prove, by extracts from the Vedas, that this duty is unsanctioned by Scripture. This naturally produced a defence of this doctrine, with numerous texts from the sacred writings in support of it. This controversy has excited a powerful interest amongst the intellectual few: as might be expected, the force of numbers seems to be with the established opinion; but at least it is consolatory to reflect that his reasonings have had a fair hearing, which affords every hope that the cause of humanity will ultimately triumph. Nothing can be inferred from the quotations from the Vedas which have been exhibited by either party. Like the sacred books of other religions, they afford texts which support each side of the question. Of late, the attention of this benevolent man has been directed to the laudable purpose of introducing the pure morality of the gospel among his countrymen.

"Although unconverted to Christianity, he has published a compilation of the moral precepts of Jesus, entitled, *'The Guide to Peace and Happiness.'* The peculiar doctrines on which the salvation of the Christian rests, are omitted, on the principle "that historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of freethinkers and Anti-Christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt at least to carry little weight with them." Such are the sentiments expressed in his preface; which are further illustrated in a note to this passage, which

places the Christian miracles on the same footing with those of the Hindoo mythology. See the above extract of his sentiments in a review of his work, in an interesting missionary publication, *The Friend of India*, for September 1820. It is to be regretted that Rammohun had not expressed himself in a more becoming manner on this important subject; it would have been better if he had clearly stated the grounds on which he rejected the evidence of the Christian miracles." (Pp. 59-62.)

Elsewhere in his book the same writer says in the course of a discussion on the subject of the press:—

"Beyond the suburbs the [English] language is unknown. The example of Rammohun, and one or two individuals, may be cited as instances of individuals who have attained some notions of civil liberty; but he, like Bacon or Galileo, has outstripped the genius of his age." (P. 100.) (The italics are ours.)

The comparison with Bacon and Galileo shows how powerfully Ram Mohun had impressed an intelligent contemporary belonging to a conquering race and professing a different religion.

Mr. Hasan Imam's Presidential Address.

Mr. Hasan Imam's presidential address delivered at the special session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay is not an "extremist" pronouncement. Even some well-known "moderates" have gone much further than he both in criticism of the Reform Scheme and in constructive proposals, of which there are not very many in his speech.

Appreciation and Compliments.

In speaking of the authors of the report, whom throughout his speech he calls "*illustrators*," he is not niggardly in appreciation and compliments, as the following extract will show:—

Our task is burdensome, for we have to discuss the proposed constitutional reforms as emanating from a Secretary of State and a Viceroy who, at least in their declarations, have not been wanting in a spirit of sympathy towards Indian demands. Their frank acknowledgment of the justice of our claim to equal civic rights with the rest of the British Empire lends to their proposals a sincerity; which it is difficult to question. But in a matter so grave as the laying of the foundation of our constitutional structure, the duty of analysing and sifting the proposals outweighs all considerations of mere courtliness or thanksgiving. While acknowledging the high purpose of the British Cabinet in directing an investigation into the present Indian situation and in desiring to find a solution thereof and while rendering the fullest tribute of praise to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for the single-mindedness with which they have collaborated in formulating their proposals, we, as the persons most affected, yet have to examine the proposals on their merits. Reading their joint Report it will

strike any observer that in the first portion of it—which I regard as a historical survey of events leading to the present situation—the illustrious authors have by their declarations, furnished strength to our demand for that charter of liberty for which we have been fighting for the third of a century through the Congress, in spite of much discouragement, at times attended with unseemly and indecent ridicule.

The proposals and the cause of their Deficiencies.

Even when speaking of the defects of the proposals, the speaker is charitable enough not to blame the authors. He says:—

The Report is full of generous acknowledgments of our claim and if acknowledgments alone could not merely gratify but satisfy us, the need for us to meet in this Congress would not exist. It is when we come to the proposals themselves that disappointment meets us. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy, it has to be admitted, have made their proposals with a genuine desire to ultimately secure for us the right of governing ourselves and determining our own future, but the proposals in themselves seem to be afraid of themselves and do not comprise any such real measure of reform as we had a right to expect. We realize the difficulty of their delicate task, placed as they have been between conflicting bureaucratic and Indian interests. The deficiencies of the proposals appear to me to be due not to any intention on their part to withhold from us what we should have, but to a spirit of compromise to secure the support of the bureaucrats. It, therefore, behoves us to consider the proposals in a spirit of sympathy and not of mere carping criticism.

It will therefore be conceded that Mr. Hasan Imam has not been guilty of the heinous and unpardonable crime of being "irreconcilable." Our opinion is that to be irreconcilable to whatever does not make for India's full freedom is a rare virtue.

[Rejection and Acceptance.

That his attitude or position is that of a peace-maker and unifier will appear from his views on the question of rejection or acceptance of the proposals embodied in the report.

Now our criterion is the Congress-League Scheme and, if the proposals lack the essentials of that, we should with all the emphasis that we can command, make our protest; but we must guard against a hasty rejection of the proposals. Opinion in the country is more or less divided on the subject of the acceptance or the rejection of the proposals. There is a small section of political thinkers that advocates a rejection of the proposals. I treat their views with respect, for their attitude of mind is based upon the political sagacity of not allowing a consent decree to be passed against them and upon the political philosophy that national rights have to be won and not merely to be received as gifts. Underlying their principle of rejection is the desire to continue the struggle for freedom and every one will admit that

the severer the struggle the greater the vigor of the race. On the other hand there is another class of our political thinkers that stands for the acceptance of the proposals with the proviso that we must go on asking for more. The country, however, is agreed that the proposals, as they stand, certainly do not embody the essentials of our demand and are not calculated to satisfy our just aspirations. If you will permit me to point out, there seems to me no material difference between those that advocate rejection and those that advise acceptance, for the common feature of both is to continue the struggle till our rights are won. In politics as in war, not combat but victory is the object to be pursued and where ground is yielded, not to take it would be to abandon what you have won. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their Report have earnestly exhorted us to put our heads together in constructive statesmanship and I have no doubt that at this crucial juncture in our political history we shall preserve that deliberative calm which is necessary for the building of a great project.

He has clearly and unequivocally expressed the opinion that "the proposals have placed us under a great disappointment, for though the essentials of our demand are acknowledged in theory, they have not been conceded in substance." He observes incidentally, and, we think, rightly: "*We know no extremists and we know no moderates, names that have been devised by 'our enemies' to divide us.*"

The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State.

Mr. Hasan Imam rightly observes that though "the Legislative Assembly is to have an elected majority of two-thirds of its total strength," it "is to have no power and must remain content with exercising that shadowy stuff, 'Influence.' To render that ineffectual a Council of State has been designed." He points out the mischief of the proposal to constitute a Council of State, in the following passage:—

Apart from the objection that the people's representatives in the Legislative Assembly will be over-ridden by a body of men not representative of the people the mischief of the proposal is accentuated by according to the members of the Council of State the status of a class by themselves. I see in that the danger of a division of our people, the formation of a new caste. This will no doubt further strengthen the already existing arbitrary powers of the Government of India and, considering that it is proposed that British control over the Government of India should be relaxed, the danger of reckless irresponsibility in the Central Government will be enhanced. Our demand is for the amenability of Provincial and Central Governments alike to the people's wishes, but instead we are being given a Central Government more autocratic than ever. The joint Report admits that the bureaucratic system that has

prevailed hitherto is no more suited to our needs, but the second Chamber that is proposed and which is to have the decisive voice is to consist of bureaucrats and their nominees with a powerless minority of elected members. It would be, to my mind, the perpetuation of the bureaucratic rule that we have been striving to remove. We cannot give our willing assent to a packed second Chamber created to render inoperative what the people's representatives decide. The proposal is reactionary in its character and by no manner of means can it be described as a reform intended to increase popular control. The creation of such a Second Chamber is a confession of the distrust of the people—a distrust that is visible in the proposals as a whole.

In his opinion the legislative procedure described in the report makes the nervousness of the authors manifest.

The Central Government must be Saved from Popular Tyranny!

There is quiet humour, perhaps unconscious, in the sentence in which Mr. Hasan Imam says that, "reading the proposals contained in Chapter IX of the Report dealing with the so-called reforms in the Government of India, the impression is left on the mind of the reader, that the Central Government had been in the past the object of much tyranny and oppression by the people and special measures were needed to protect that Government." He goes on to observe: "It is difficult to estimate the political reasons that have induced the illustrious authors of the Report to treat the Government of India and the people of India as two combatants constantly pulling in opposite directions—the Government of India being always right and the people of India always wrong."

The popular ideal has been correctly stated.

The ideal that we have always set before us is that the Government of India should be so constituted that that Government should be the Government of the people. So long as these extraordinary safeguards are devised and exist, it would be but natural for us to feel that those that carry on the Government are removed from us and as human beings, subject to human failings, will subordinate the people's interest to theirs. No one can conceal the facts that the interests of the bureaucrat, whatever his services may have been, have been widely different from the interests of the people and if the same bureaucrat is to shape the destinies of India, even at this juncture, the reason for the special safeguard is obvious. The cardinal principle of our demand is that Indian interests are not any more to be subservient to the interests of others and if the proposed reforms are intended to restore to us what we have lost then the reformation of the Government of India should not be and must not be on the lines of the proposals but on those that would secure to the people at least an effective voice in the governance of the country. The Congress-League Scheme has been discarded as un-

workable in practice. It may not be artistic in its features, it may have the defects of inexperience of actual administration, it may even appear to be crude in form. But we do not attach ourselves to the externals of the scheme but to the true spirit of it. We insist on the essentials being left untouched, we demand their incorporation in the reforms that may hereafter be ultimately decided on.

The Council of State and the Ruling Princes.

The speaker has voiced a not unfounded fear that the proposed association of the ruling princes with the council of state bodes no good.

The proposal that in the Council of State the Ruling Princes should be associated with the Government of India for the purpose of deliberation on matters of what have been vaguely described 'common concern,' is neither happy for us nor happy for them. By the very nature of their relations with the Suzerain Power the Princes are in a state of subordination to the Governor-General as representing the King-Emperor. Their task in their own principalities is difficult enough and it will only add to their burden to be invited to take part in the Council of State in British India. Then again there may be complications hereafter if the pledge of full responsible Government to us comes to be fulfilled, as we hope and trust it will be in the near future. The Council of State with its present proposed constitution spells to me the dread that the Government of India will at no time entertain a popular Assembly whose voice will be listened to, for if that were to be so the introduction of the Princes into the Council of State would be incompatible with their sovereign rights. Supposing that at a future date the Council of State becomes a representative body of British Indians, would it suit the Princes to descend from their high state to seats in a people's assembly and would it suit us to have them in our midst? What is the special need of the presence of the Princes in the Council of State? Is not that Council, if established, strong enough, even without them, to protect the Government of India against the people?

The Executive Council.

The president of the special congress holds that "the distrust of the people is further made manifest when the introduction of the Indian element into the Executive Council of the Governor-General is limited to but two. Our demand has been that at least half the number of the Executive Councillors should be Indians." Reasons for this demand are given.

Our claim to a larger increase in the Indian element of the Executive Council is based not merely on our just rights but also on the efficient and loyal performance by the Indian Members of their duties. I appreciate that the numerical strength of the Executive Council under the new constitution has not been disclosed and it may be that the existing number may, with changed conditions, be reduced, in which event the two Indian members, as proposed, will constitute a much larger proportion of the Indian element in the Executive Council than is the one

Indian member in a Council of eight as at present. Judged by comparison even an illiberal increase of the Indian element in the Executive Council will mark a stage in India's political development. But is that enough? We want a declaration of the proportion and that proportion to be half, as that will give us in some degree an assurance of the intentions of the Government regarding the establishment of responsible Government in this country. We are now no more content with promises. The illustrious authors of the Report themselves remark that "there is a belief abroad that assurances given in public pronouncements of policy are sometimes not fulfilled." I would say, not "sometimes" but "seldom" fulfilled.

Fine Phrases and Promises.

The speaker is under no delusion as to the value of fine phrases and promises.

The Morley-Minto Reforms were hailed by the whole country as ushering in a new era of political progress, but when they were brought into actual operation the bureaucratic framers of the rules and regulations succeeded in nullifying the liberal policy of Lords Morley and Minto. After our sad experience of the Reforms of 1909 our faith in promises and pledges stands much shaken to-day. Just as we are told to realize that India's political future is not to be won merely by fine phrases, so we ought to make it clear to Government that a whole fifth of the human race cannot be kept loyal to foreign rule by mere promises. The days of fine phrases and hollow promises have equally passed and if we are to be kept within the great British Empire, our confidence must be won; our affection must be secured. To the Secretary of State and the Viceroy we are grateful for the genuine desire their Report demonstrates for the political progress of our country, but to be perfectly frank, we are not without just apprehensions that in much of their work their good intention will be frustrated by those to whom the carrying out of the policy will be entrusted in this country and it is for this reason that our demand for the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council must be insisted on being half of the total strength.

The Grand Committee.

Coming to the consideration of the provincial governments, Mr. Hasan Imam observes that "the procedure laid down for the passage of a certified Bill is through the Grand Committee, and it seems to me that the Legislative Council has but a nominal place in it. Here again is the same spirit of distrust of the people as in the constitution of the Central government, though it has to be acknowledged that it is not so manifest."

"Journey to Provincial Self-government Sure."

In spite of all that he has said against the bureaucracy, Mr. Hasan Imam is sanguine enough to say: "I am alive to this that in the provincial administration a considerable advance upon the existing system is proposed, and I believe that if

the proposals are carried into effect the journey to self-government in provincial matters will be sure, though long." He seems to forget that the proposals give power to the Government of India not merely to transfer subjects from the reserved to the transferred list, but also "to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list, or to place restrictions for the future on the minister's powers in respect of certain transferred subjects." (Para 260 of the Report.) Similar powers have been given to the periodic parliamentary commissions. Mr. Hasan Imam, like many other public men, has taken no notice of this power of retransfer. There is a tendency among some persons to take it for granted that these powers are meant to remain, or will in effect remain, a dead letter. But when so definite a prophecy is ventured that the journey to provincial self-government will be sure, a cautious and wise statesman ought at least to explain why he ignores the existence of the frustrative powers referred to above;—particularly when it is remembered that bureaucracies are generally very tenacious of power and privilege, being loth to part with them, and that the bureaucracy in India in particular have abused the provisions of the press acts and the Defence of India Act. They have often taken upon themselves powers which the law, rightly interpreted, has not given them; and it is therefore unwarranted to take it for granted that they will not make use of powers which it is proposed that the law should give them. Our opinion is, and we have given expression to it in our last number, that the "journey to self-government in provincial matters will be sure, though long," *only* "if the proposals are carried into effect" *in a thoroughly just and liberal spirit.*

The passage upon which we have commented above is followed a few lines below by a passage in which Mr. Hasan Imam himself gives expression to the apprehension that in the scheme there are *weapons which a "strong man" may use "for the destruction of the reforms themselves."* Says he:

After all, our past does not justify so many safeguards in the reforms. These same safeguards in the hands of a "strong man" may be turned into effective weapons for the destruction of the reforms themselves. It is true that periodic Commissions are suggested for the purpose of re-surveying the political situation in India and of readjusting the machinery

to the new requirements from time to time and no doubt would be within the province of the Commission to investigate into the course of constitutional development in the country and a "strong man" will have the fear of his acts being examined and judgment passed thereon by a Commission that would derive its authority from Parliament itself. But it has to be borne in mind that these Commissions will be at distant intervals and however much credit one may be disposed to give to them for their anxiety to make a thorough investigation, the lapses of the "strong man" are bound to escape scrutiny when time has dulled the directness of perception. Without referring to any particular "strong man," we naturally get apprehensive when we find an administrator of a province indulging in wholesale denunciation of the politically-minded Indians, as men engaged in sowing distrust and in propagating vile propaganda. The latest pronouncement of one such "strong man" is that such of us, as ask why these restrictions, reservations, safeguards, this machinery for saving the authority of the Government and why this distrust, are those that spend their time in spreading sinister influence over the people and he explains that it is not the mistrust of the people but the distrust of the sinister influence of those whom he calls the extremists that renders it necessary to include in the new constitution safeguards, restrictions and reservations. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford may well piteously cry: "Save us from our friends." Throughout the Report on the reforms no such suggestion for the distrust has been expressed by its illustrious authors and whatever distrust that is noticeable could be ascribed to cautious steps being warranted by the want of experience of the Indian people in matters administrative; but this commentator on the Report, if his exposition be correct, rouses us to a just resentment. This same "strong man" talks of an unbridled and defamatory press when he of all persons ought to know that the press legislation in India, of all measures, has been the most destructive of legitimate public criticism and has secured for the "strong man," as also even for the milder bureaucrat, an unimpeded passage to the fulfilment of his arbitrary will. It is such "strong men"—and this unfortunate land has many of this breed—against whom we, the people, require special measures of protection.

This lends force to our criticism.

Reserved and Transferred Subjects.

This address does not contain any criticism of the principle upon which the division of the functions of government into reserved and transferred subjects is founded and justified in paragraph 238 of the Report. This is a defect, for the principle is open to serious objection. As we have commented in our last number upon this division and upon the principle on which it has been sought to be justified, we need not say why we consider this omission a defect. The speaker says with obvious satisfaction and calm contentment that "The subjects proposed to be transferred to popular control are as

numerous as those of the Reserved class. I believe that the transferred subjects will afford to us sufficient opportunities of administrative training in the first few years to enable us to qualify ourselves for the transference of all the subjects to popular control." He speaks simply of the numbers of the reserved and the transferred subjects. But do the numbers alone matter? The relative importance of the subjects in the two groups ought rather to receive the greatest and most serious consideration. Then again, it cannot be accepted that administrative training in any subject makes one fit to have charge of any other subject. If a man were placed in charge of ferries, pounds, and village drains, would the experience gained in such work qualify him, e.g., for the maintenance of law and order? In fact, the division of the functions of government proceeds upon the assumption in general terms that the people are unfit at present to have charge of any of the functions connected with the maintenance of peace and order, and with good government (including sound financial administration). We do not think that it can be safely assumed that administrative training in functions which have nothing to do with "peace, order and good government" can qualify a man to undertake those functions. In fact, Mr. Hasan Imam appears himself to admit this when he says:

"Whatever the underlying policy of two compartments of the Government may be and whatever its justification, I am decidedly of the view that a total unconcern of the Ministers in the Reserved subjects is not desirable, for the objective being the ultimate realisation of responsible government, the association of Ministers in some form or other with the administration of the Reserved subjects will the better prepare them, for the ultimate devolution of power on the people. If expediency does not permit that they should have an effective voice in the Executive Council they should, at least be given a place therein of more or less advisory character, as additional members. The constitution proposed is open to the very serious objection that until actual transference takes place the people's representatives will have but little touch with subjects of the Reserved class; while at some future date, and let us hope not a distant date, it is they that will be asked to assume charge of the administration of those subjects."

Though nowhere in his address does the speaker take any notice of the power of retransferring subjects from the transferred to the reserved list proposed to be given to the Government of India and the periodic parliamentary commissions, he

makes mention of a serious objection to the system of dual government.

The objection to the scheme, as a whole, lies, however, in the proposal that at the end of a period of five years the Reserved Subjects are not to come automatically under popular control but it will be open to the Central Government to hear applications from either the Provincial Government or the Provincial Council for the modification of the Reserved and the Transferred subject lists of the province, and it will be upon the recommendation of the Central Government that the Secretary of State is to approve the transfer of further subjects. While this method of devolution of power has the merit of providing the incentive to the peoples' representatives for earnest and statesman-like discharge of their duties, it has the demerit of withdrawing the stimulus that they would have, if they were now assured that at the end of five years the responsibility of the entire provincial administration would devolve upon them. In the language of the Report itself, advance can only come through previous failures and exercise of responsibility calls forth the capacity for it.

Supplies for the two groups of Subjects.

The address makes some very pertinent and outspoken comments upon the financial arrangement provided for effecting the administration of the two branches of provincial governments. From the revenues raised in the provinces, the demands of the Government of India are first to be met, the reserved subjects are then to be provided for, and the residue will be available to the Ministers for the purposes of the transferred subjects. If this be insufficient, as it is sure to be, if the Ministers are to discharge their duties adequately, fresh taxation must be resorted to.

The question of any fresh taxation will be decided by the Governor and the Ministers and the Executive Government as a whole will not bear the responsibility for the proposal. Considering that the Governor is not expected to refuse, ordinarily, assent to the proposals of the Ministers, it is apparent that the responsibility of a fresh taxation will in effect rest upon the Ministers. It is admitted that the new developments which are to be anticipated will necessitate fresh taxation. Thus it comes to this that the odium, which is inseparable from a new levy, is to be borne by the Ministers alone, the sequel to which may be the engendering of a repugnance in the people against popular Government. The responsibility for administering Transferred Subjects will be the Minister's, while the power of deciding what part of the revenue shall be allotted for the discharge of that responsibility will be retained in official hands!

The proposed arrangement, it strikes me, is unfair. It is giving to the popular side of the Government an unsatisfactory start. The collective responsibility of the Executive Government in matters of fresh taxation is necessary for the success of the reforms. The obvious defects of the system proposed

are so many that I think it is our duty to insist upon modifications that may insure to the Transferred Subjects a fairer and a more equitable treatment. It is worthy of note here that of the departments proposed to be transferred to popular control several are of vital importance to the progress of the country and they have been the most starved under official regime. The duty of constructing them and developing them will devolve upon the people's representatives but without sufficient provision for them. The subjects of Education and Sanitation, involving as they do the building up of healthy mind and healthy body in the people, are of supreme importance as upon them will rest the creation of healthy electorates. If the franchise, on which responsible Government is to be based, is to be broad and extensive, due provision has to be made from now to secure its expansiveness as time grows, and towards that end it will not do to treat those two subjects with stint.

Members of the Executive Council.

Mr. Hasan Imam's remarks on the selection of Indian members of the Executive Councils give evidence of his statesmanship.

Our proposal that Indian members of the Executive Government should be elected by the Council has been based on our experience that Government have in the past chosen men not because they were sound but because they were, according to bureaucratic view, safe. The election of Ministers is disapproved but no injunction is laid that the nominations should be of persons who had the confidence of the Legislative Council. The justification for our proposal of election lay in our apprehension arising out of bureaucratic methods. If we can be assured that really capable men will be chosen for appointment as colleagues of the Governor our scheme of elected members of the Executive will not require to be pressed, for our demand is for capable men only. Our objection however to the immovability of ministers stands. It has been stated that it is not contemplated that from the outset the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor bound to accept the decisions of his Ministers. That may be so, but in that proposal I do not see any justification to give to the Ministers a place above the will of the representatives of the people. What we have to guard against is a too ready submission on the part of the Ministers to the wishes of the Governor. Under the constitution proposed the Governor will occupy a predominant position, and if at any time he chooses to disapprove of a measure he should be made to take responsibility of refusing his assent instead of securing by methods of powerful suasion the acquiescence of Ministers. The scheme if carried into effect will be demoralizing for the Ministers themselves. Some method should be devised whereby the responsibility of the Ministers to the representatives of the people should not be diminished while their harmonious co-operation with the Governor may be maintained. I suggest that it be made incumbent upon every Minister on his appointment to seek re-election, failing which his appointment will automatically cease to operate. A further condition of his office should be that he should continue to enjoy the confidence of the House. Should the House, as a body, express its want of confidence in him he must resign his office as

a matter of course. This suggestion that I make does not in any way reduce the position of the Governor, nor his powers under the proposed constitution.

The only comment which we think it necessary to make on the above extract is that our demand is *not* for capable men only, but for men who are also in genuine sympathy with popular aspirations and therefore enjoy the confidence of the public.

The Ministers.

Mr. Hasan Imam's statesmanlike observations on the proposed total unconcern of the Ministers with the Reserved subjects have been quoted before. It is not that he does not see the dangers of their inclusion in the Executive Council.

I realise that the inclusion of the Ministers in the Executive Council is not free from danger to popular aspirations as such inclusion is more likely, than not, to create a natural bias in the mind of the Governor to choose a safe man as his Minister, but I would sooner take that risk and have the Ministers within the Executive Council than out of it.

He would make the emoluments of the Ministers equal to those members of the Executive Council. The dignity of both sets of officers should be the same.

I am not one to advocate expensive machinery of administration but when it comes to a distinction arising between Ministers of the people and Ministers *not* of the people I would sink all considerations of financial economy and insist on the Ministers enjoying the same salary as Members of the Executive Council. I consider it as affecting their dignity but if economy has to be effected it must be effected by reducing of the salary of the Members of the Executive Council to the level of the salary that may be proposed for Ministers.

Indian Executive Councillors.

The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme has not acceded to the popular demand that the Indian executive councillors should be elected by the legislative bodies. Mr. Hasan Imam defends the popular proposal.

Our proposal for the election of Indian Executive Councillors is no doubt open to certain objections but in the existing state of things if the Indian people are to be assured that the Indian element in the Executive Council will be truly Indian in aspiration there seems to be no other method but that of election whereby such an assurance can be given. It may be said that an Indian Executive Councillor holding his office by election may not work as harmoniously with his colleagues as one who holds his office by nomination. As we have not suggested that the elected Indian member should be removable at the will of the Legislative Council and his appointment being permanent for five years there is no reason to apprehend that he will indulge in unwarranted friction with his colleagues. What we want is that the Indian mem-

ber in the Provincial Executive Council should be one to possess courage to present the Indian view of a question faithfully. If the nominations, in the past, in the Provincial Executive Councils had been as satisfactory as, happily, the nominations have been in the Governor-General's Executive Council, our apprehension regarding the search for a safe man would never have come to exist.

Fiscal Policy.

We are in agreement with what has been said as regards fiscal policy. A protective tariff has been advocated.

Much of the political situation in India is due to economic forces that have been silently but surely working. It has often been said that foreign capital, which means British capital, has done much for the development of Indian resources. That is true if the development of resources as an abstract idea, detached from actual benefit, were regarded as a title of the British capitalist to the gratitude of the Indian people. The question is has the kind of development, that we have had, brought to the Indian the prosperity that he wants. The Indian has merely been the producer of raw materials for the benefit of British manufacturers who have purchased the materials from him at low prices and sold the manufactured articles to him at high prices. Industrially we have been left so utterly untrained that we have not been able to free ourselves from the importation of foreign manufactures, while the export of raw materials has continued on an ascending scale. Frankly stated our conviction has been that our industrial backwardness has been positively encouraged in the interest of British manufacturers. This conviction is not based upon a mere prejudice that one race may have against another, but it is based upon facts of history dating from the time when the commercial development of the country was fostered by the Company as a matter of business. The traditions of the Company inherited by the Government under the Crown, we believe, have not been departed from, and British commercial interests have had the same fostering care as in the days of the Company. The maintenance of the duty on cotton goods manufactured in the country has been unquestionably in the interest of Lancashire.

The Public Services.

Mr. Hasan Imam seems tacitly to take it for granted that the proposals relating to the public services really amount to "the removal of all racial bars." That is not our view, as our remarks on the subject in our last issue will show.

We also demur to the unqualified statement that "the Indian Empire of to-day is a production of Great Britain." As if the people of India, under their great religious, social, educational, political and industrial leaders, and inspired by their poets and other authors, have not contributed very largely to the making of modern India!

As regards the achievements of the Indian Civil Service, and as to whether they are entitled to our gratitude or not, Mr. Hasan Imam rightly observes:—

No one minimises the record of the Indian Civil Service. From its inception that Service has comprised earnest and ardent workers of Great Britain and the Indian Empire of to-day is a production of Great Britain in which they have had a considerable, if not the main, part. Judged from our point of view their labours have not been altruistic, but incidentally, while they have worked for their own country, they have helped us to ideas of freedom and liberty, of nationhood and political rights, which I treat as acquisitions of the greatest value for the upbuilding of that India which is our dream to-day and we hope will be our realization to-morrow. No question of gratitude arises in this as we have paid heavily for what we have received. It would be unjust to construe our demand for a larger share in the Services as denoting any hostility towards the members of the Services.

The Army.

The brief paragraph which the address devotes to the army is unsatisfactory. The promise of King's commissions to Indians is good as a promise. But considering the vast numbers of the Indian population and the strength of the Indian army, actual and prospective, the number of commissions proposed to be given is insignificant; and the conditions, too, with which the "concession" is hedged round, make it almost an apology for a concession.

"Hypocrisies."

The penultimate paragraph of the address contains an extract from Macaulay.

Macaulay has said: "Of all forms of tyranny I believe that the worst is that of a nation over a nation" and "the heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger." That is as true now as in the days of Macaulay and his observation applies as much to India as to any other country. To deny that India feels the yoke of the stranger is to shut one's eyes to fundamental facts.

What the apologists of British rule in India say are characterised as "hypocrisies."

The apologists of British rule in India have asserted that the presence of the British in this land has been due to humane motives; that British object has been to save the people from themselves, to raise their moral standard, to bring them material prosperity, to confer on them the civilising influences of Europe, and so forth and so on. These are hypocrisies common to most apologists. The fact is that the East India Company was not conceived for the benefit of India but to take away her wealth for the benefit of Britain. The greed of wealth that characterised its doings was accompanied by greed for territorial possession and when the transference of rule from the Company to the Crown took place, the greed of wealth and lust of power abated not one jot in the inheritors, the only difference being that tyranny became systematised and plunder became scientific. The people know it, they feel it, and they are asking for a reparation for the incidents of the past.

Some Modifications Proposed by the National Liberal League.

We have said above that many "moderates" have gone much further than Mr. Hasan Imam in their discussion of the Reform Scheme. In support of our remark we will quote some of the modifications in the scheme proposed by the National Liberal League of Bengal.

4. There should be no further increase in the pay, pension and allowance of the civil, or any higher grades of any other public, service in India.

5. The department of police should always be placed in charge of the Indian member of the executive council.

6. Additional official members, without portfolios or votes, should not be appointed in any executive council as members of the government as provided for in para. 220 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

7. Such persons should only be appointed ministers in the provincial governments as enjoy the confidence of the legislative councils.

9. The Committee, which will discuss and make recommendations on the division of Indian from provincial subjects and on the subjects to be "transferred" and "reserved," in every provincial government, should be directed to put into the category of "transferred" subjects as "many" subjects and services as the progress of each province may require and as "few" as may be considered absolutely necessary to be placed under "reserved" heads.

10. The elected element in the provincial legislatures should be four-fifths of the total strength of the councils, at least in the more advanced provinces.

11. Where the necessity of a province demands, there should be two instead of one co-opted Indian member in the Electorates Committee to be appointed for the purposes described in para 225 of the Report.

12. In view of the fact that the administration of law, justice and police are likely to be "reserved" subjects in all provincial governments for some time, a complete separation of judicial and executive functions in all district officers should be made at once, and the judiciary placed everywhere under the jurisdiction of the highest court of the province.

13. Instead of 33 per cent. of the superior posts of the Indian Civil Service being recruited for in India as suggested in the Report, the recruitment into this service should be made at the rate of 50 per cent. of the total number of appointments made every year.*

* If only 33 per cent. of the recruitment to the I. C. S. is made in India from now, then it will take nearly 25 years before 33 per cent. of the total strength of this Service come to be held by Indians.

14. A certain number of members, say a fourth of the total number of members in every council, should be allowed opportunity to ask for the adjournment of the house for the purpose of discussing questions of urgent public importance.

15. No more than three months should intervene between the closing of one session of a council and the opening of another.

16. The cost of the India Office should be placed on the British Estimate.

17. Some provision should be made for the

appointment or co-option of qualified Indians on the periodic Indian Commissions.

18. Subject to the limitations that may be imposed on the tariffs of different parts of the Empire as the result of the decisions of the imperial post-war Conference on the subject, the Government of India, acting under the control of the Indian Legislature, should be accorded full power to regulate the Indian tariffs.

With regard to item 6 of the above proposals, it is necessary to tell the reader that Mr. Hasan Imam says in his address that he sees no objection to the appointment of additional official members without portfolios or votes to the provincial executive councils. He is also satisfied with the proportion of 33 per cent. of the superior posts in the Indian civil service proposed to be recruited for in India. But the National Liberal League wants a larger proportion, and that, too, of the total number of appointments made every year; vide item 13 above. As regards reserved and transferred subjects, he is content merely with saying that the transferred subjects will be as numerous as the reserved ones, and that the administrative training to be obtained by having charge of the former for five years will be sufficient to fit our Ministers to have charge of all subjects at the end of that period. He has nothing to say as to whether reserved subjects should be fewer than the officials would want them to be, nor as to whether any subject, such as the police, which the officials would place in the reserved group, should be under the charge of the Indian Minister or Indian Member of the Executive Council. The reader will see that the National Liberal League makes detailed suggestions on these points. Some of the other important suggestions of the League are on matters on which the president of the special congress has made no constructive proposals whatsoever. We do not mean to say that he ought to have suggested definite modifications on all or any matters dealt with in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report; that is clearly the work of the Congress, the president's main duty being to discuss principles and offer criticisms on the Reform Scheme. What we mean to say is that if "extremism" and "moderatism" are to be measured by the character of the criticism offered and the suggestions made by persons, then the National Liberal League's Pronouncement as published in the *Bengalee* is in some respects characterised by greater "extre-

mism" and less "moderatism" than the address of the president of the special session of the Congress held at Bombay. In fact, so far at least as the Reform Scheme is concerned, there is no clearly marked line of demarcation between "extremists" and "moderates," and there is nothing to show that those joining the special congress are more extreme in their views than the seceders. The distinction between "extremists" and "moderates" is more or less fictitious and artificial.

A Bishop on Jute Profits.

The Bishop of Chota Nagpur writes thus in the *Chota Nagpur Diocesan Paper* for August on the subject of the enormous profits made by the Jute Mills; and the duty of the shareholders of the Mills to share their gains with the jute cultivators whom the war has hit hard :

Owing to the war certain industries in India have enjoyed unparalleled prosperity, and for some reason the Government has not thought well to impose an excess profits tax. I am not wise enough to understand why, for on the face of it it seems a course of simple justice. But in the case of the jute trade which has profited perhaps more than others, the situation is made worse by the fact that the excess profits of the shareholders have been enhanced by the low price of the raw material due to the stoppage of its export. In other words the war has lowered the price of the raw article to half the pre-war rate, bringing thereby acute distress upon the cultivator while it has increased the price of that part of the manufactured article which is sold in the open market to the enhancement of manufacturing profits. Both factors have added to the profits of the trade.

Now it is easy to say that the price of the raw jute has been fixed by the ordinary law of supply and demand, but that is in this case untrue, for the war has stepped in to interfere with the operation of this ordinary law. Could the jute have been exported there would doubtless have been a rise rather than a fall in price. Surely the Government whose restrictions, taken in the interests of the Empire as a whole, have brought distress upon one section of the people, while enriching another, should take some steps to ensure a more equitable distribution of profits. Bring the situation to the test of our Lord's judgment, and can there be any doubt as to what He would say. His moral indignation would be poured forth on those who claim to be fighting the cause of the oppressed and the weak and yet are enriching themselves at the expense of their poorer brethren. I know it is easier to point out evils than to cure them, but the first step to their cure is to realise them. And there may be others like myself who had not realised the position. I have not the experience or knowledge to suggest the remedy but there must be those, experienced in business and versed in economics, who are able to solve the difficult problem; but meanwhile I would urge that shareholders seek ways by which they may share their gains with those whom the war has hit so hard.

These sentiments are quite worthy of

the Bishop. Would that they fell on willing ears!

The Cotton Mills are also making enormous profits. These should also devote part of their gains to alleviate the distress caused by the high price of cloth.

Cloth Distress in Bengal.

Of the religious bodies in Bengal two have been making efforts to alleviate the distress caused by the high price of cloth and the consequent inability of the poor to buy cloth. They are the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and the Rama Krishna Mission. Those who wish to help these bodies to carry on their urgent philanthropic work should send their contributions to: (1) Dr. Pran Krishna Acharji, Secretary Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta; and (2) Secretary, Rama Krishna Mission, 1, Mukerjee Lane, Calcutta, or (3) President, Rama Krishna Mission, Math, Belur, Howrah.

The few contributions received by the treasurer and the secretary of the Bankura Sammilani for the alleviation of cloth distress in Bankura will be acknowledged in our next number.

A Righteous Gift.

A righteous and kind-hearted English gentleman has sent the editor of this Review Rs. 1,000 for providing clothing for those in the jute districts who have been distressed by the low price of jute, with the following letter:—

Dear Sir,

I own a few shares in the Jute Mills which have been making enormous profits, and I understand that this is in part due to the very low price of the raw jute owing to the stoppage of export. I further understand that this low price of jute has caused very severe distress to the cultivators. I do not wish to profit by this. I learn that you are administering a fund for the relief of distress among these cultivators and I have pleasure in sending you my cheque for Rs. 1000 which I hope you will use for me in providing clothing for those in the jute districts which are thus distressed. I should take this as a real favour.

Yours very truly,

The amount sent by this noble donor has been placed at the disposal of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

Good News from Fiji.

One of the Sugar Companies in Fiji, called the "Melbourne Trust," the smallest of them, has taken the initiative and of its own accord appointed a very highly qualified Nurse (one of those who had volun-

teered to Mr. C. F. Andrews to come) to go and act as a Lady Doctor in the Company's District and Hospital. She will have an official position as Matron of the Hospital and will be paid for entirely by the Company. As this Company has taken the lead, it is most likely that the others will now have to follow suit, and this may be an immense uplifting to the Indian community in Fiji.

It is evident that the pressure of the Australian ladies interested in the welfare of the Indians in Fiji has begun to bear fruit.

Our Frontispiece.

It is always difficult to name a picture. The name given to the frontispiece in this number is ours. What the artist wishes to typify by this picture may be understood from what a friend of his wrote to us at his request, and which is given below in a somewhat modified form.

The picture represents the condition in which some of our leaders are about the performance of their duties towards our nation and our country. The picture, if observed with a little care, seems to be symmetrical, and some parts of it seem to be quite artificial, as, for instance, the pose of the figure and the lamp borne on its head, and to an ordinary eye the figure looks like a statue or it appears that it has assumed that artificial posture under pressure of external conditions, there being an absence of naturalness in it. The figure in the picture represents some of those men who aspire to be our leaders and are actuated by the mere desire for popularity. They wish that people should gather round them as moths gather round a flame. But as they do not possess the natural gifts and virtues to attract men, they feign those qualities to attract people. This has been represented by a lamp over the head of the figure. The lamp is naturally capable of attracting moths towards it. But these self-styled leaders think that the moths, that is to say, the people, have gathered round them on account of their own light. It is their assumed qualities, not their real characters, which make people gather round them. The eyes of the figure are covered by the veil of selfishness, symbolising the fact that the self-styled leaders are blind to the actual situation and real needs of the country. The figure is that of a woman to

denote the effeminacy of these aspirants to leadership.

Lord Ronaldshay's Speech at Mymensingh.

It is usual for rulers to receive addresses from the people of the districts and towns visited and to reply to them. Lord Ronaldshay recently visited some towns in Bengal, and received addresses there and replied to them. In several addresses he was told that many innocent men had been unjustly dealt with under the Defence of India Act. The Governor, however, nowhere admitted that any innocent man has anywhere been harshly dealt with even by mistake. This assumption of universal official infallibility and universal popular fallibility is not inexplicable, but it is incredible that the people of whole towns or districts should all be mistaken and the Governor, who is only a man like the rest of us, should be right in every instance. It is also noteworthy that even the speeches of Lord Carmichael, whose assumption of official infallibility was not as patent as that of the present governor, could not convince the people that the enforcement of the Defence of India Act had not been attended with injustice.

We intend to notice some points in the speech of His Excellency the Governor in reply to the address of the Mymensingh People's Association. That address contained the following passage:—

"We shall be wanting in our duty, if we allow this opportunity to slip without bringing to Your Excellency's notice the widespread discontent which prevails throughout the country on account of the great harassments caused by the indiscriminate house searches, arrests and internments of young men and boys without any trial and often putting them into solitary cells under the Defence of India Act. We can not, in adequate terms, describe the great and heart-rending miseries of the mothers and other relatives of the detenus who have thus been taken away from them and whose prospects in life have thus been blasted. The belief is gaining ground that on mere suspicion many innocent men are being unjustly dealt with under the said Act and we earnestly hope that Your Excellency will not be slow in devising means for removing this extremely undesirable state of things and we can confidently assure Your Excellency that nothing is more likely to restore peace to the country and remove this discontent than a general amnesty to all such persons, dealt with under the Defence of India Act."

Let us now consider some of the passages in the Governor's reply.

The addresses of the People's Association speak of indiscriminate house searches, arrests and internments of young men and boys. I have personally

made an examination of the number of house searches, arrests and internments in this district, and I am satisfied that there are not the smallest grounds for your statement that they have been made indiscriminately. On the contrary, I am satisfied that they have been made only after the circumstances leading up to them have been most carefully weighed and sifted.

We have read in the papers of numerous house searches which did not lead to the discovery of anything incriminating, or to the arrest of anybody; sometimes they lead to the arrest of some persons who were soon after released. Though it cannot be admitted that every one arrested after a house-search and kept deprived of liberty without a trial, is guilty, it can be safely assumed that the persons in whose house nothing incriminating is found and who are not arrested after the search, or who, if arrested, are released soon after, are innocent. If our memory does not play us false, there have been such fruitless and needless house searches in Mymensingh. Now, the people, who are the sufferers, consider these fruitless and useless house searches indiscriminate and harassing. The officials, on the other hand, think they were not indiscriminate, and that there were reasons for them. Unless the people know these reasons, how can they take it for granted that the officials are right? *The Sanjibani* office in Calcutta was searched three or four times quite unsuccessfully from the police point of view, and needlessly from the popular point of view. The *Bengalee* office was once similarly searched. It is certain there were similar unsuccessful and needless searches in Mymensingh.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has published the following:—

The local paper "Charu Mihir" has the following in reply to His Lordship's statement:—

"Thirty or forty houses were searched in the town of Mymensingh in one morning. The bustle and activity of the Police led the people to believe that numerous revolvers, pistols, ammunitions and revolutionary pamphlets would be found. But nothing of the kind was discovered in any place. May we ask His Excellency if he enquired as to whether the Police had got anything incriminating in the houses of Babu Atul Chandra Chakravarty, Babu Harihar Chakravarty, Rai Shama Charan Rai Bahadur, Babu Anath Bandhu Guha and others after they had been searched? The general public are under the impression that these searches are only the prelude to arrest suspects. We think the authorities are aware of the views of the public with regard to the generality of the arrests made by the C. I. D. Then again, in many cases, the authorities had to release persons after their arrest. Under such circumstances, how can these searches, arrests and internments may be

called "discriminate." And we cannot understand how His Excellency could be satisfied on this point after making enquiries into such cases. His Excellency is certainly aware of the result of the searches which were made in Calcutta in the "Bengalee" office of the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and the "Sanjibani" office of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter."

The Mymensingh paper then publishes an old account which appeared in some Calcutta paper describing the situation in Mymensingh at the time on account of the activities of the C.I.D. It runs as follows:—

"At present Mymensingh is again under Police Rule pure and simple. Only about a month ago the whole town was put into turmoil by indiscriminate house-searches and arrests—a number of houses of respectable men were searched but not a single incriminating article was recovered from a single house. God alone knows what the materials are upon which these search-warrants were issued. About 38 arrests were made then but final order has not been yet passed on any to the knowledge of the public, but only this much is known that some had to be discharged on the ground that they had been arrested under mistaken identity."

Two years have elapsed since the account appeared and no one has contradicted it.

Here are certain facts for the information of His Lordship. Not only were some persons released afterwards for want of identification but a large number were let off after they were kept in confinement.

There may be excellent official reasons why innocent people should be subjected to worry and insult by having their houses searched in this fashion. But the people who suffer do not know them and cannot in consequence appreciate their beauty. That is also why they cannot derive any consolation from the Governor's assurance that the searches were not indiscriminate.

Then as to the nature of the internment, except for the period during which the enquiry is being prosecuted where it is necessary to prevent those whose conduct is being enquired into from communicating with their associates, persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are not kept in cells of any kind. They are interned in villages where all can see how they live and are treated, and where they are visited by non-official visitors. You spoke of their injured prospects. It is doubtless true that a man cannot play with fire without burning his fingers, but then the remedy is for the young men to give up playing with fire. The remedy lies not with Government but with the young men themselves.

It is well-known, and the Governor admits, that detenus are kept in solitary cells during the period of the enquiry. Descriptions of these cells and the conditions of life of the detenus there have appeared in the papers, leading to the impression in the public mind that those to whom no offence has been brought home after public trial ought not to be subjected to such treatment even for a month. There are also reasons to believe that the

eases of insanity, suicide, death from preventible disease, and cases of such diseases as phthisis, are to a large extent due to confinement in cells under insanitary conditions

As for internment in villages, if detenus had nowhere felt it to be a great hardship, they would not have broken the internment rules to get imprisoned. The judgment in the Kutubdia detenus' case contains the following sentence: "In a case of this nature, we should have been inclined to hold ordinarily that a sentence of simple imprisonment would have been a sufficient punishment; but unfortunately, it appears that these misguided youths prefer the easy life of the gaol to the semi-freedom of internment; so simple imprisonment would be no deterrent." The kind of life *really* led by detenus in some villages can be guessed from this illuminating sentence. We would ask all to buy a copy of the "Report of the Trial of Kutubdia Detenus Case" published by the Bengal Civil Rights Committee, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta. (Price Re. 1-8.) It is as interesting as a romance and gives a vivid idea of the life of detenus in solitary cells and villages.

Regarding non-official visitors, Lord Ronaldshay no doubt does not require reminding that they were appointed as a result of agitation in and outside his Council Chamber—agitation which he would ascribe to sympathy with anarchists and revolutionaries. Hundreds of men have been released soon after arrest, or some time after confinement in jail or compulsory domicile in villages. These are some of the "many innocent men" who have been spoken of in the Mymensingh address as "being unjustly dealt with under the said Act." People are justified in holding that those who have been thus released are innocent, and that there are many more such innocent men who are still kept in a state of semi-freedom without trial. So far as we can understand the drift of the address, it prays for a general amnesty to all such innocent persons only,—not to all detenus and suspects. We, too, think that all detenus and state prisoners who have been deprived of liberty for political reasons alone and against whom there is no proof or suspicion of complicity in dacoities, murders, or similar offences against property, life and limb, should be set free under proper safe-

guards, and the rest tried *in camera*, being given an opportunity to defend themselves with the aid of lawyers.

It is certainly true that if in playing with fire a man gets his fingers burned, it is he who is to blame. But we believe many of the men released never played with fire. At any rate, Government has released them only after being convinced that they would not again play with fire. All the same, some of them who were students cannot get admission into colleges, and some who had some remunerative employment before can get no work, the employers being afraid of the police putting them to trouble. Whether the remedy here lies with the Government or not, it is for Government to judge, but it certainly does not lie with the men themselves. We would in this connection draw the attention of our readers to the following passage from "The Small and the Great" by Sir Rabindranath Tagore printed in the *Modern Review* for December, 1917, page 601 :

"Just as no one cares to eat a snake-bitten fruit, so none dare to hold commerce with a police-tainted person. Even that most desperate of creatures, the Bengali father with an unmarried daughter to get rid of,—to whom neither ugliness nor vice, nor age nor disease is a bar,—even he refrains from sending the match-maker to him. If the one-time police-suspect tries to do business, the business fails. If he begs for charity, he may rouse our pity, but cannot overcome our dread. If he joins any good work, that good work is doomed."

Lord Ronaldshay gave an account of revolutionary crimes in Mymensingh during the ten years from 1907 to the end of 1916, "when systematic action was first taken under the Act."

During the period there were in this district alone 26 revolutionary outrages in the course of which 12 persons were violently done to death, 27 persons were injured, and property to the value of Rs. 1,92,090 was looted. The year 1917 was the first year for five years during which your district was free of political crime.

Then the Governor said:—"You, of course, abhorred those outrages just as much as did the Government; but were you able to do anything to bring them to an end?" In "The Small and the Great" Sir Rabindranath Tagore tells of the reply that he gave to an Englishman whom he met in a railway train and who referred indirectly to the demand of Home Rule by the people in spite of their inability to prevent Hindu-Musalman riots. Sir Rabindranath's reply to his fellow-passenger was :

"These Hindu-Mahomedan riots have not occurred under our Home Rule. . . . *this is the first time that I hear of a division of labour where one is to have the weapons and another to do the fighting!*" Lord Ronaldshay's question reminded us of this reply. The weapons with which revolutionary propaganda and revolutionary outrages can be successfully fought, are both material and non-material. The material weapons are fire-arms and other arms, which Government and the dacoits and assassins have got, but which the people, for the most part, have not got. How can the latter, therefore, be expected to fight? Is it reasonable to ask them to fight? In spite of their want of proper weapons the villagers have in some places fought dacoits, some getting killed in the encounter. The non-material weapons consist in the power to change the political, economic, educational, and similar social conditions in which revolutionary ideas and crimes have originated. But the people possess very little of this power; Government possesses most of it. We think, therefore, that Lord Ronaldshay's question was not reasonable. It was like expecting people to make the proverbial bricks without straw.

It is implied in his answer, that the diminution in revolutionary outrages is due solely to the systematic action taken under the Defence of India Act. But are there not other factors? There has been an addition to the strength of the police and improvement in their training and personnel; public opinion as expressed in the press and on the platform has discouraged such crimes; in the villages the feeling of helplessness in the presence of organised gangs has been gradually giving place to a manlier attitude; the spirit of adventure of youth has found legitimate scope in the Bengal Ambulance Corps, the Bengali Regiment, and other forms of service abroad; and political despondency has given place to the expectation of political improvement. It is not statesman-like to ignore all these factors, and give all the credit to repressive methods.

Nor should statesmen forget that peace and order may be purchased at too heavy a price. Personal and civic liberty and a fearless spirit ought not to be sacrificed at the altar of "Peace and Order." Peace and order ought to be secured mainly by measures which heal political and econo-

mic injuries and produce normal and progressive political and economic conditions. We are certainly in favour of temporary special methods and special laws, if necessary, to punish actual criminals; but we are entirely against methods which have the effect of terrorising the whole population of a country. National greatness, power and progressiveness can neither be attained nor preserved, without running some risks. A high spirit always goes with national greatness, power and progressiveness. But this same high spirit is disliked by a foreign bureaucracy. No methods of repressing crime ought to be adopted which has the effect of preventing the growth of this high spirit where it does not exist and of crushing it where it does. And in our anxiety to be protected we ought not to acquiesce in any methods and laws which have this tendency. If all persons were kept handcuffed and fettered every day from 6 in the evening till 7 in the morning, "peace and order" could be safeguarded to a far greater extent than by the enforcement of the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1818. But we would not agree to be deprived of liberty for 13 hours every day even for the sake of peace and order.

Lord Ronaldshay gave an extract from the Rowlatt Committee's Report to show why a general amnesty cannot be given. As we have said before, we have understood the Mymensingh People's Association's suggestion regarding an amnesty to mean that they wanted the release of the "many innocent men" who have been unjustly dealt with under the Defence of India Act, not of *all* the men interned under that measure. Let us, however, give His Excellency's quotation.

In the meantime permit me to call your particular attention to the opinions which are unanimously expressed by the Commission upon the question of a general amnesty. If you turn to paragraph 196 of the Report you will find that, speaking on this aspect of the case, they say: "There are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some, if not most of these persons, are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the War. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of four murders and has been concerned in eighteen dacoities, of which five involved further murders. There are others like him both in custody or at large."

The extract made by His Excellency

conveys a wrong impression of what the Rowlatt Committee have said. It conveys the impression that they speak of *all* the men who have been deprived of liberty as having been parties to murders and dacoities. But they have said nothing of the kind.⁶ They speak of only "*a limited class of persons*" as of this description. In order to show that Lord Ronaldshay's quotation is misleading, we shall have to make a longer extract from the Rowlatt Committee's Report and italicise some portions. We shall begin to quote from about the middle of paragraph 195.

"These revolutionaries vary widely in character. Some merely require to be kept from evil associations and to be brought under the closer influence of sensible friends or relations. At the other extreme are some desperadoes at present irreconcilable to the point of frenzy. [So in the Committee's opinion only some are desperadoes. Ed., M. R.] Some are ready to quit the movement if only it can be made easy for them. More may be brought to this frame of mind in time. It is obvious that extremely elastic measures are needed both for those whose liberty is merely restricted and those from whom it is at least temporarily taken away. As regards the former, the prospects of the individual in point of health and a livelihood in any particular area should be considered along with the associations which he may be likely to form. For the latter there should be provided an institution or institutions for their reformation as well as confinement. It is to be borne in mind that while some already possess a good deal of education they all lack habits of occupation and, in a measure, reason.

"196. The scheme above set forth is, as has already been pointed out, designed for emergencies regarded as contingent. The powers involved are therefore to be dormant till the event occurs.

"There are, however, a limited class of persons, namely, those who have been involved in the troubles which have been described who constitute a danger not contingent but actual. Special and immediate provision is required for their case.

"In the first place, there are a number of persons still at large, such as Rash Behari Basu of the Benares conspiracy case, who, if tried at all, ought to be tried, even if arrested after the Defence of India Act expires, under special provisions. Moreover, further offences may be committed before that time to the authors of which similar considerations apply. On the other hand, it would not be proper to proclaim a province under our scheme merely for the purpose of such particular trials.

"Secondly there are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some absconding are still at large.

"Some, if not most of these persons, are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the War. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of 4 murders and has been concerned in 18 dacoities, of which five involve further murders. There are others like

him both in custody and at large. Such men are the leaders and organizers of the movement. They are now detained or their arrest is intended under Regulation III of 1818. We do not discuss that measure. It is applicable to many cases not within the scope of our inquiry.

"Assuming, however, that it is not desired to continue to deal with these men under the Regulation, we ought to suggest an alternative.

"Lastly, it may be that *a few of those now merely interned* and some of the convicts who will be released *may require some control*. At any rate, it is to be deprecated that the persons interned should have the assurance that on the expiry of the Defence of India Act they will at once and all at the same moment be immune from all restriction. They should be liberated gradually."

In the light of the longer extract given above, let the reader judge whether Lord Ronaldshay's quotation conveyed a correct impression of the opinion and suggestions of the Committee.

We do not know how the Committee came to such a positive conclusion about the undoubted guilt of some internees solely on the untested and *ex parte* evidence placed before them by the police; nor why, if the guilt of these men is so undoubted, they have not been brought to trial.

In order to convince the people that the opinion of the Committee is entirely trustworthy, Lord Ronaldshay said :

"Remember these are not words spoken by the Government. They are words written by an absolutely impartial Commission, two of whose members were Indian gentlemen whom no one will accuse of being subservient to the Government.

There are several implications in these two sentences. One is that the Government, including pre-eminently Lord Ronaldshay, may not be absolutely impartial. The second is that the Rowlatt Committee were "absolutely impartial." The third is either that Indian gentlemen as a whole are not subservient to the Government, or that Indian gentlemen nominated by Government for a particular purpose are not subservient, or that only the two Indian gentlemen who sat on the Committee were not subservient. Let the public judge of the correctness of these implications.

In civic and political matters, Englishmen are far more experienced than ourselves. Let us, therefore, see who in the opinion of Englishmen in their own country are considered impartial and who prejudiced. We would in the first place ask our readers to draw their conclusions from what took place during

the debate in the House of Commons, on May 9, which followed the publication of General Maurice's letter on some statements made by Mr. Lloyd George about the army. Mr. Asquith said :

The Government had admitted that there was a case for enquiry. He regarded the proposal that two judges of experience should hold such an enquiry in such circumstances as unsatisfactory. Such a tribunal would be impotent unless it had statutory powers, and he suggested a non-party committee of five members of the House of Commons, who could probably reach a decision which would be respected by the House and the country in two or three days.

He proceeded :

Any Government statement of facts would be *ex parte* and made in the absence of those who had impugned the accuracy of previous statements. Mr. Asquith urged that it was in the honour and interest of the Government, the House, the Army, the nation and the Allies and the unhampered prosecution of the war, to establish a tribunal of enquiry which from its constitution and powers would be able to give a prompt decisive and authoritative judgment. He hoped regarding some of these matters that there had been honest misunderstanding, but the clearer the case the Ministers had for proving the accuracy of the impugned statements the more cogent was the argument in favour of an enquiry under conditions which nobody could suspect of partiality or prejudice. (Laughter, in which Mr. Bonar Law joined).

Mr. Asquith, turning to Mr. Bonar Law, asked whether Mr. Bonar Law thought that a Select Committee of the House was not an unsuspected tribunal.

Mr. Bonar Law replied that every member of the House of Commons was either friendly or unfriendly to the Government, and therefore prejudiced.

Mr. Asquith retorted, "I am very sorry to hear the leader of the House suggest that there cannot be five members of the House of Commons who are not so steeped in party prejudice that they cannot be trusted to judge a pure issue of fact. I leave it there."

The reader is to bear in mind that here the freedom from prejudice of Englishmen who were either His Majesty's Judges or Members of Parliament was the subject under consideration, and some of the men who were pronouncing opinion on it were men of Cabinet rank.

The Rowlatt Committee was presided over by a judge of the High Court of England and had an Indian and a European judge of two Indian High Courts among its members. Regarding the omniscience and infallibility of judges, the *Indian Daily News* recently quoted the following paragraphs from the well-known British newspaper the *New Witness* :

"The method of investigation proposed by the Government is far from satisfactory. They propose to submit the whole quarrel to the secret investigation and arbitrary decision of two judges ; and we

suggest that the public keep a very sharp eye on those two judges ; on who they are and on what they do. We have never seen the sense of keeping up the superstition that every judge is a premature day of judgment ; awful as omnipotence and impartial as omniscience. There are good judges, and there are decidedly bad judges. But the commonest method of selecting and appointing judges makes them, with certain highly honourable exceptions, men quite peculiarly ill-fitted to decide boldly and fairly about a charge against politicians. They are themselves not only the nominees of such parliamentarians, but have earned such notice, as a rule, by long service, if not servility, in parliamentarism.

"An ambitious lawyer stands for Parliament on the secret party Fund ; votes, speaks and is silent to order, moves convenient amendments (like the celebrated Buck-master amendment) and is given a certain sort of wig and gown as a reward by the statesmen he has served. And then he, and another with the same history, may be locked up in a private room with a bundle of papers, to decide at their solitary and despotic pleasure whether the man who has rewarded them is to be ruined or expelled from public life ! We can see that there is a case for the enquiry not being in the ordinary sense public ; since it involves military designs and details. But there is no case for it not being in the ordinary sense representative ; and it should specially represent the real critics of the Government."

We will give one more extract from Lord Ronaldshay's speech, in which he laid down the duty of newspapers and public men.

"You may ask me, perhaps, whether there is any way in which you can help in bringing about this desirable state of affairs. I reply most emphatically that there is. You can do more than anyone else can simply by desisting from encouraging in the minds of these people the belief that you are in sympathy with them. I am sure that you do not realise how much harm you do even by giving publicity to views like those which you have embodied in your address to me today. Perhaps I can bring it home to you by giving you a concrete example by way of illustration. The question of releasing a certain political prisoner from jail was recently under consideration, but before a decision could become to it was necessary to find out whether he had repented of his former deeds. He was accordingly interviewed by a person who was related to him, and this is what he said : "I regret that I have ever made any disclosures to the police. I made this mistake simply because I was not till then sure of the sympathy of my countrymen. Recent publications in the newspapers have cleared up my vision and I now see that my countrymen have fully appreciated the work done by us. This is why newspapers and leaders in Congresses, Conferences and Leagues have been fighting tooth and nail for our cause and are moving heaven and earth to turn the Defence of India Act into a dead letter." Let those words sink deeply into your minds. There you have the case of a man who was inclined to repent of his former ways but was suddenly persuaded to return to them by the writings of a certain section of the press and by the thoughtless utterances of certain public men. I would that both the press and the public would weigh carefully the awful responsibility which, unknowingly perhaps, they are laying at their own doors.

Lord Ronaldshay thinks that the *detenus* are under the impression that a certain section of the press and some public men are in sympathy with them. By way of proof, he brings forward what a certain political prisoner is said to have told a relative of his. Let us take it for granted that the prisoner's words have been correctly reported to His Excellency. The Rowlatt Committee's Report, which according to the Governor ought to be implicitly relied upon, says of the *detenus*, "*they all lack habits of occupation and, in a measure, reason.*" On the strength of what *one* out of about a thousand men, all of whom, in a measure, lack reason, is reported to have said, the Governor asks us to believe that the *detenus* all think that many newspapers and public men are in sympathy with them! And His Excellency, too, appears to think that a section of the press and of public men are sympathetic.

His Excellency did not himself interview the prisoner, nor was he present at the interview. The interview was reported to him. Hence, there may be some reasonable doubt regarding the correctness of the report. In order to judge of its value, the public should know whether the interviewer himself reported the words of the prisoner to the Governor or they filtered through the medium of the police; whether at the interview any third person was present to bear witness to the truth of the report and the actual occurrence of the interview; whether the interviewer is himself a police officer, Government servant, informer or agent of the police; whether he is in hopes of getting a Government appointment or a title: what is the degree of his relationship with the prisoner; and whether there is any family quarrel between the two relatives or between the branches of the family to which they belong. Ties of blood would naturally make a relative anxious for the release of a prisoner with whom he was related. In this case, as he overcame this natural desire, he must have done so either from motives of righteousness and public duty, or from selfish motives. If he has done so from good motives, he would be obviously known to his neighbors generally as a righteous and public-spirited man; the report of the interview under discussion cannot be the only proof of his righteousness and public spirit. But as he

has not been named, the public curiosity about him and the prisoner cannot be satisfied.

A word or two about sympathy may not be amiss. We do not think any section of newspapers or of public men can be in sympathy with those who commit murders and dacoities. Race hatred *does* blind men to moral considerations, as the present war has shown in a most flagrant manner. It could have been supposed, however unjustly, by Europeans, therefore, that Indian publicists sympathised with murderers and dacoits, if the victims of their crimes were all or mostly Europeans. But that is not so. A similar suspicion might have been entertained, however unjustly, if the victims of the murderers and dacoits had been all European or Indian policemen. But the fact is otherwise. We have not come across any of these wicked perpetrators of evil deeds and have not learnt from them what the object of their crimes is. The official version is that their object is political. Taking it for granted that it is so, we repeat what we have said before, that the end does not justify the means, even if the means adopted were calculated to attain the end. But murders and dacoities as means to make India free and independent are not only wicked; they are also foolish and not at all calculated to bring about the political regeneration of India. Wherein then does sympathy come in? Not one of the state prisoners and *detenus* has been convicted of crime after a public trial. There is, therefore, a reasonable and justifiable doubt in the public mind that many of them may be innocent. Public agitation has for one of its objects the obtaining of justice for them in the shape of either release or conviction, after trial. If they cannot be brought to trial, there is a reasonable presumption in the public mind that at least many of them are quite innocent and ought to be released. This cannot be construed as sympathy with revolutionary outrages. Reports have reached the public from time to time that many *detenus* and state prisoners have been harshly, even cruelly, treated. The insanity, suicide and death of several of them have lent force to these reports. Public agitation has, therefore, had a second object, namely, that these men should receive humane treatment. This also cannot be

construed as sympathy with revolutionary outrages. In all civilised countries, efforts have been made to mitigate the severity of punishments and to improve jail methods and conditions. These have had for their object the securing of humane treatment *for men convicted after open trial*; but can penal law reformers and jail reformers be therefore accused of sympathy with criminals as criminals? How then can some editors and public men be suspected of sympathy with crime simply because they agitate for the humane treatment of mere suspects?

It is true that the *officially-alleged* object of these outrages is the liberation and independence of India, and it may be the real object of some of the men; and Indian newspapers and public men, for the most part, want the political enfranchisement of India within the British Empire. But for this reason it cannot be affirmed that the authors of these outrages and constitutional agitators are in sympathy with one another, though the word "freedom" loosely covers the objects of both groups of men. The announcement of August 20, 1917, and the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms published on July 8, 1918, have for their object the political enfranchisement of India within the British Empire; and this object, too, may be conveyed by the expression "freedom of India." But would it be reasonable for this reason to say that the British Cabinet and the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy were in sympathy with revolutionaries? Of course, political animosity and self-interest sometimes make men behave like lunatics. *The Pioneer* was, therefore, once observed trying to establish a nexus between "moderate" constitutional agitators like the late Mr. Gokhale and the bomb-throwers,—the group of "extremist" constitutional agitators standing between those two groups. And recently some British and Anglo-Indian agitators and British public men of the Sydenham type have tried to create prejudice against both the British Government and Indian aspirants to self-government by saying that the British Government has been playing into the hands of Indian Bolsheviks! But no sane and responsible person, official or non-official, attaches any importance to these mad ravings.

"Present Reforms not impelled by the War."

A Reuter's telegram dated London, August 18, says that

Mr. Montagu interviewed emphasised that the Indian Reforms were based on British ideals of justice and liberty, not on German methods of repression. Mr. Montagu denied that the present reforms were impelled by the war. On the contrary the British administrators had always recognised the progressive character of British rule in India. As long as hundred and twenty years ago Sir Thomas Munro announced that he looked forward to the time when the population of India would be sufficiently enlightened to frame and conduct Government for themselves.

If British statesmen want to do a good and just thing in connection with India, their efforts deserve praise. But let them not say that the British Government in India and British officials had always before them the ideal of Indian self-rule towards which they had been continually and persistently working. For that is not the fact. Isolated officers like Sir Thomas Munro may have looked forward to a time when India would be self-ruling; the Marquis of Hastings even thought that India would be independent. But Sir Thomas Munro was not the Governor-General of India, and before August 20, 1917, neither he nor any other British statesman ever declared in his official capacity as Governor-General that to make India autonomous was the object of British rule in India towards which goal all officers had been enjoined to work and were working. On the contrary, "Lord Morley emphatically repudiated the idea" that the Morley-Minto reforms "were in any sense a step towards parliamentary government." And when Lord Hardinge declared the goal of provincial autonomy, his words were explained away by Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India. These all go against the claim now put forward on behalf of British rule in India by Mr. Montagu. The present intentions of the rulers may be all that they are claimed to be. We are not interested in disputing that claim. But it is not historically correct to say that these had always been the avowed or tacit aims of the British Indian Government to which its practice always or for the most part conformed.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report itself are to be found sentences contradicting what Mr. Montagu is reported to have said to the interviewer. In paragraph 7

of the report, it is said that the words of the announcement of August 20, 1917, "pledge the British Government in the clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people." In the same paragraph it is said: "Hitherto, as we shall show, we have ruled India by a system of absolute government,....."

"Mr. Montagu denied that the present reforms were impelled by the war." It may not be safe to say that they were entirely due to the war, but that they were largely due to it, admits of no reasonable doubt. Even the Montagu-Chelmsford Report gives one that impression; *vide* paragraphs 20-28 of that report.

The Special Congress at Bombay.

It was the duty of men of all shades of opinion who had hitherto given their adherence to the Congress movement, to attend the special session of the Congress at Bombay, or at least to give it their moral support. A united front was needed at the present juncture of the history of India. But there has been a split instead. So let us be content to take facts as they are. There should, however, be no attempt to give the special session any name which it does not deserve. It is clearly not a Congress consisting of men of all shades of political opinion; nor is it a Congress from which any men of any shade of opinion have been excluded. All have been equally welcome to attend it. It cannot, therefore, be spoken of as an "extremist" Congress. Apart from any general reasoning of the above description, it is clear that it has had the adherence of many prominent men of all parties. Some most influential "moderates" and some most influential "extremists" have attended it. It is not possible to say whether the majority of "moderate" public men have attended it, or whether the majority will attend the proposed "moderate" conference; for there is no definite and authoritative definition of a "public man" and a "moderate public man," nor has there been any census taken of the total number of public men and of moderate public men in the country. Neither is it possible to say whether among the delegates, the "extremists" or the "moderates" were in the majority; for not only is there no accepted definition of "moderate" and "extremist,"—terms invented by "our enemies"—but

no one can say what kind of criticism of the Reform Scheme makes a man a "moderate" and what an "extremist."

It would be noted, however, that the proposed "moderate" conference is meant to be attended only by those who would be invited by the organisers. It would, therefore, include only a section of the public, and shut out all the rest. The special session of the Congress has done nothing of the kind, and is known to have brought together men like Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Hence the special session of the Congress is certainly more representative of public opinion than the proposed "moderate" conference is likely to be; should all but the invited be excluded from it.

Even after the moderate conference has taken place, it would not be possible to say whether it was more representative of moderate opinion, or the special congress was; for, as we have said before, there is no definition of "moderate public man" nor any census of such men. The presumption, however, would be against the moderate conference; for it proposes to exclude all but a certain type of politicians, and may therefore exclude even many moderates; whereas the special congress has excluded none. It should be mentioned, however, that some moderate and other politicians may not have attended the special session of the Congress out of justifiable or unjustifiable fear of turbulence.

We have tried to describe the relative representative character of both gatherings in as fair a way as we could. Nothing could have given us greater pleasure than if men of all shades of opinion had met together and presented the united demand of India. But as that has not been the case, we shall be glad to find, as we expect to find, the resolutions of both gatherings embodying many common suggestions for the modification of the reform scheme. Already the proposals emanating from opposite camps have been observed to cover common ground. We are really more united in our essential demands than our enemies would like to recognise or even the prejudices or personal dislikes and animosities of many of our public men would enable them to perceive.

The Advisory Committee.

The Express says:—

The Advisory Committee is now sitting to con-

sider the cases of the political detenus and the procedure that is being followed is this: The accused is supplied with a copy of the charges at the Thana in the presence of a police officer and he is required to answer them in writing within a short time as best as he could. He is enjoined not to consult anybody nor to keep any copy of the charges. Now may we ask how is it possible for him to answer satisfactorily the charges which the Police had taken care to formulate against them at a moment's notice in the presence of a police officer without consulting any of his friends, relatives or guardians, much less any legal adviser, and without being apprised of the evidence which have been accumulated against him.

If the *Express* is correctly informed the procedure followed is very unsatisfactory.

The Cloth Problem.

Recently the cloth problem was considered in two public meetings in Calcutta. In the last of these Babu Surendranath Banerjea, who presided, said in the course of his speech:—

They called upon the Government to regulate the price of cloth as it had done in the case of iron and other articles. If the Government could regulate the price of iron why it should not do the same in the case of cloth? But they are thankful to the Government for it had taken some action in the matter and the people welcomed the regulation of prices of cloth that would naturally follow. The Government expressed its willingness to interfere in the case of Indian mills. Why should not the same principle be followed in the case of the imported articles? There ought to be an equality of treatment for mill-owners in India and in Great Britain. But the people had their own duty. They must come forward to alleviate the sufferings of the poorer people. Why should not raise funds and distribute the money to the poor people? The speaker made a personal appeal to the Marwari gentlemen present to come forward with gifts of dhooties and saris for distribution among the poor people. In conclusion the speaker asked the people to abstain from purchasing cloth at present. That was the only means of keeping down the demand and the immediate result would be that prices should go down. Their appeal was not enough. They ought to set an example by subscribing to the fund.

We heartily support the views expressed in the above extract.

Resolutions were passed at the meeting in conformity with the views expressed in the president's speech. Funds should be liberally subscribed for the free distribution and cheap sale of cloth. Cotton cultivation and hand spinning and weaving should be resorted to according to the suggestions of Rai Bahadur Jadunath Mazumdar, which have been widely published in many of the English and vernacular papers of Bengal.

The Government has already taken six months to enquire and deliberate, and now their cloth controller is going to

make additional enquiries and to confer with people who have knowledge of the business. We wonder when the enquiry and conference stage will come to an end, and the proposed standard cloth placed in the market.

Communal Representation.

The following is one of the *Madras Mail's* special cables, which are notoriously reliable:—

London, Aug. 18.—Current reports state that Sir John Hewett will be Chairman of one Committee or possibly both. All now realise that the battle for communal representations is as good as won but all other points of attack are strongly defended by Government. Though it is essential to remember that opposition to the innumerable aspects is growing, general acceptance of the principle of the reform means that no one is bound to accept Mr. Montagu's proposals. Papers are now discussing the details. From missionary standpoint the Methodist Recorder strongly champions sixty million outcasts asserting that under the present scheme they are unrepresented and their interests unprotected. Despite official wire pulling which is persistent subtle critics are obtaining everywhere far freer expression for their views. Graphone papers here devoted very wide sympathetic attention to Lord Willingdon's courageous speech in the Bombay War Conference.

The two committees are those for determining the electoral qualifications in different provinces and areas, and for deciding what are to be the reserved and transferred subjects in different provinces. It is possible that there may be a worse chairman of these committees than Sir John Hewett, but he appears to be about the worst.

The case against communal representation has been most ably put by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their report. We do not think the enemies of Indian solidarity will be so easily able to dislodge these high authorities from their ground. If these enemies win, it will not do to blame them alone. Primarily, our religious bigotry and caste bigotry are to blame. Whoever may have originally started the game, henceforth men of all sects must make a strenuous attempt to look at all political and civic questions, small and large, from the Indian point of view, as distinguished from the merely sectarian or sectional point of view.

As for caste bigotry, though it exists in all parts of India, lunatic ideas about "untouchability" and the power said to be possessed by certain Panchamas to make the "holy" Brahmins and other "high" caste men "unholy" from a distance of many yards, are more prevalent in the

southern parts of India than in the north. If the curse of communal representation according to castes came upon India as a visitation, the "holy" lunatics of Cochin, Malabar and other similar "untouchability"-ridden regions would be more responsible for it than anybody else; though this does not absolve any of us from responsibility. We must all work for the improvement of the condition of all Indians, remembering Herbert Spencer's observation that no one can be perfectly free until all are free, no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral, and no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy.

The British people are apt to make the mistake of thinking that caste distinctions in India are in all respects worse than the distinction between classes and masses in Great Britain. Each is better and worse than the other in some respects. Castes in India are vertical divisions, containing persons of widely differing economic and educational standings. Thus a Brahman or a Kayastha, or even a Pariah (though far more rarely), may be rich or poor, a professional man or a peasant or a menial, cultured or illiterate. Socially the units of a caste or sub-caste group are equal irrespective of wealth, occupation or education. A poor Brahman family may dine or intermarry with a rich Brahman family. In England the divisions are horizontal. There is generally no social equality and intercourse between the Lords and the peasants, the cultured classes and the uneducated coster-mongers and navvies, and so on. But the ordinary Britisher takes it for granted that a Lord or an Oxonian of the upper middle class can adequately protect the interests of peasants and miners and other working men; the ordinary Britisher forgets that his assumption is repudiated by the Labour Party, whose rise and growth in power would be inexplicable if the assumption were true; the ordinary Britisher, however, cannot believe that an Indian man of one sect or caste can protect the interests of another caste or sect. We think that in India, too, there will be in course of time a Labour Party, when the Indian labourers have received sufficient education, as their brethren in England have. But in the meantime there is no urgent necessity for giving any class special communal representation, just as special communal representation was never given to British

labourers or British Roman Catholics or British Nonconformists. In England there was a time when the door in politics and education was shut against certain sects by law. There were and are class and sectarian riots and dissensions there. Here in India, the law does not exclude anybody from any educational institution or municipal or local body or legislature on the ground of his caste or sect; one has only to possess the requisite educational or property qualification. The case for communal representation was, therefore, stronger in England at one time than it is in India now. But there has never been communal representation in the British Isles; the people there have been all the better for it, and have attained a gradually increasing national solidarity. In India, however, where no caste or sect labours under any legal disability, our British friends like Lord Sydenham and some Christian missionaries insist on giving communal representation to some sects and castes, thus obstructing the growth of national solidarity.

They say Indian Home Rule or anything like it would lead to the establishment of a Brahman oligarchy. In the first place, taking it for granted that there would be such an oligarchy, until quite recently was not British parliamentary government an oligarchy of peers and the middle class gentry, and has it not been gradually replaced by a more representative government? What is there to show that in India the same sort of evolution of government would not take place? In the second place, we deny that there would be such an oligarchy, taking India as a whole. Of the 27 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, only seven are Brahmans. Of the 31 nominated members only one seems to be a Brahman. In the provinces, the ascendancy of the Brahmans is greatest in Madras. In the Madras Legislative Council, so far as we can judge from the names, of the 21 elected members nine are Brahmans, and of the 20 nominated members, only one or at the most two are Brahmans. In Bengal, out of the 28 elected members, only 4 or 5 are Brahmans, and out of the 16 nominated members, only two are Brahmans. In the United Provinces, out of 46 members (in the Indian Year Book the elected and nominated members are not shown separately for this province), only seven appear

to be Brahmans. These figures are based on the list of names given in the Indian Year Book for 1918. We need not go through the lists of all provinces. The figures given will go to show that Indian self-rule would not mean the establishment of a Brahman oligarchy; for there is no reason to think that the new electoral rules and qualifications will be more favorable to the Brahmans than the present ones are. There are other considerations too, which lead to the same conclusion. In no province of India do the Brahmans constitute the majority of the population; in no province are they the most numerous caste; in the northern half of India they are certainly not the most prosperous and influential caste; and judging by the percentage of literacy, they are not the most literate caste in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Burma, C. P. and Berar, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. They are the most literate caste in Bombay and Madras. The State has only to make education free and compulsory, and in a decade the non-Brahman castes would show as high a percentage of literacy as the Brahmans even in the two provinces where the Brahmans are the most literate caste.

We do not pretend that all Brahmans and other high caste men are angels, any more than British peers and upper middle class men are angels. Nor do we believe that British costermongers and Indian pariahs are angels. We think it necessary to say at the same time that Brahmans, Pariahs and British peers are not naturally more selfish or worse than other men. We have to see what kind of machinery will produce the greatest good in the long run. We find that the United Kingdom has done tolerably well without communal representation,—certainly far better than parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire with communal representation. We, therefore, as practical men, like to follow the British precedent, though we may not be able to acquire fame as philanthropists like the Sydenham gang and some Christian missionaries.

Bureaucratic Campaign Against the Indian Press.

The Burma Government was the first to shut out from its province legally published and circulated newspapers like *New India*, *The Indian Review* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The Punjab

Government has followed suit and excluded from its province *New India* and the *Commonweal*. The Bombay Government has adopted a different strategy. It has forbidden registered libraries to subscribe for papers like the *New Times*, and some other papers of Sind. In Bengal, there is a list of approved newspapers and periodicals out of which alone Government and aided educational institutions may choose any which they want to take. How free we are! We fervently pray that all laws, ordinances, regulations, &c., relating to the press, may for all time to come remain a "reserved" subject for the bureaucracy.

Government and the Sedition Committee's Report.

The Sedition Committee of 1918, known as the Rowlatt Committee, has submitted its report, and Government has published it. Perhaps Government is now considering what action should be taken on it. We submit for the consideration of the highest officers of the crown a piece of advice which Machiavelli has given to princes. "Never let a prince," says he, "complain of the faults of the people under his rule, for they are due either to his negligence or else to his own example."

It may be taken for granted that there has been and is a revolutionary movement confined to a very small section of the population. But nothing happens without a cause. History teaches that in all countries where there have been revolutionary movements, the causes have been political and economic. Government ought to find out these causes in India, and apply remedies which will go to the root of the matter. Without such remedies, mere repression will not succeed. And the repressive measures suggested by the Rowlatt Committee are calculated to perpetuate the state of unrest.

The majority of the people of India are not turbulent. Government should seriously consider why even a small fraction of such a people should think of risking life, limb and liberty in a hopeless rebellious attempt against one of the most powerful governments in the world. In "*The Expansion of England*", by Professor J. R. Seely (Macmillan & Co., 1885), the people of India in the eighties of the last century are thus characterised:—

".....We find a population which by habit and long tradition is absolutely passive, which has been

dragnnaded by foreign military Governments, until the very conception of resistance has been lost. We find also a population which has no sort of unity, in which nationalities lie in layers, one under another, and languages wholly unlike each other are brought together by composite dialects caused by fusion. In other words, it is a population which for the present is wholly incapable of any common action. As I said, if it had a spark of that corporate life which distinguishes a nation, it could not be held in such a grasp as we lay upon it. But there is no immediate prospect of such a corporate life springing up in it."

It is not our purpose to examine in all its details the correctness of what the author says. What we would ask the Government to calmly consider is why among such a population the idea of resistance has taken hold of the mind of even a small fraction, and that pre-eminently in a province which Anglo-Indians have always despised for its real or supposed timidity. It will not do to fasten all the blame on the agitators. When people's stomachs are full they cannot be persuaded by even the most gifted agitator to believe that they are hungry. The agitator's words are fruitless unless they fall on fit soil; and no student of history need be told what is the fit soil for revolutionary ideas.

The Rowlatt Committee as Historians.

The very first sentence of the report of the sedition committee runs thus: "Republican or Parliamentary forms of government, as at present understood, were neither desired nor known in India till after the establishment of British rule." It is a curiously worded sentence. Can it mean that Republican or Parliamentary forms of government *have been known* in India *after* the establishment of British rule? If so, in what sense? In the sense that they are known to exist in India at present? Or in the sense that the people of India have come to know, under British rule, of the existence of such forms of government in foreign countries? The members of the committee cannot certainly mean that the British people, after establishing their rule in India, have introduced republican or parliamentary forms of government in this country; for that is not a fact, and in the Montagu-Chelmsford report the authors say, "Hitherto we have ruled India by a system of absolute government." What the committee mean is that republican or parliamentary forms of government never existed in India. Now that is false, as "every

schoolboy knows" or ought to know, as the fact is mentioned in many English and vernacular text-books of history. Should the committee lay stress on the words, "*as at present understood*", that would not give them a loophole of escape. For it is not a peculiarity of India alone that republican or parliamentary forms of government *as at present understood* did not exist here in past ages. Democracy as at present understood is a thing of modern growth everywhere. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (article Democracy) tells us that "Democracy in modern times is a very different thing from what it was in its best days in Greece and Rome." Similarly we learn from *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* that "the modern democracy differs essentially from the ancient and medieval forms." Therefore it is as pointless and useless to say that modern democracy was non-existent in ancient India (for it was unknown in all countries), as it would be to say that steamers were unknown in ancient India, for steamers were unknown in all countries in ancient and medieval times.

An Unfounded Apprehension.

Fears have been expressed in some quarters that if the Reform Scheme were subjected to strong criticism, the "boon" might be withdrawn altogether. We have always opposed such beggarly fears. What would be the value of a thing which lay entirely in the power of other people to give or withdraw at pleasure?

But that these fears are quite unfounded would be at once clear from Sir John D. Rees' attitude. His curious speech on the scheme in the House of Commons has been thus summarised by Reuter:—

Sir John D. Rees urged a speedy carrying out of the proposals of the Report. If the establishment of democracy in India led to a period of Brahmin oligarchy that should not be greatly deplored, Brahmins were the natural leaders of the people of India. The reception of the proposals by Extremists such as Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant showed that the proposals were not likely to give away British power in India.

The logic of Sir John Rees may be briefly put thus: Whatever Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant condemn must be a good thing! So those who want to have the scheme, the whole scheme, and nothing but the scheme, have only to criticise it severely to obtain their heart's desire!

Manhood and Womanhood Suffrage for the Depressed Classes.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak is an orthodox Brahman, a Home Ruler, and the most influential Home Rule leader in the Bombay Presidency. And what does his organ, the *Mahratta*, propose in order to place Brahman oligarchy on an unassailable basis? Why, universal manhood and womanhood suffrage for the Depressed Classes! With reference to the steps recommended by the last session of the Depressed Classes Mission Conference for the elevation of this section of the population, the *Mahratta* has made the following suggestion:—

"In our opinion one most effective way of accelerating the uplift of the depressed brethren of ours is to give every adult man and woman amongst them the municipal and the political franchise. And we feel that Adult Franchise will be a great asset for the untouchables in their efforts to come up to the level of their more fortunate brethren."

Our contemporary is right.

Votes for Women.

In India women can become graduates. They already serve in many Government and mercantile offices, and in Government and private educational institutions. They manage large landed estates of their own and some trading concerns, too. They pay taxes, and are as much affected by the laws of the country as men. There is no reason why they should not have the votes. In provinces where the purdah prevails, it is necessary only to appoint qualified women as polling officers, and make suitable arrangements for the identification of the voters. Votes given to women would be calculated to diminish drunkenness, improve the sanitary condition of towns and villages, advance the cause of social purity, spread education among girls and women and make it necessary to pay greater attention to the health, education and general upbringing of children.

Appointment of European Women to High Posts.

If Indian women were appointed to high posts by Government, we would rejoice. But recently three European women have been appointed to high posts, two as professors in Government colleges, one to an assistant secretaryship in Burma. Owing to the paucity of European men to fill vacancies, the ser-

vices of European women have been requisitioned. So they are going to be help-mates of the males in a new way, namely, in the exploitation of India, in sucking her dry. The prospect is gloomy from another point of view, too. For the women of the ruling race are likely to be haughtier and more tyrannical as officers than the men, and if the former get nervous or offended, you have very little hope of obtaining justice at the hands of a male bureaucrat superior in official position to the female bureaucrat.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Message to the Wood National College.

We take from the *Commonweal* the following message which was sent by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Chancellor of the National University, to the boys of the Wood National College, Madanapalle, on the occasion of the reopening of the College, in July, after the vacation:

Every morning the messenger of light comes to the flower buds with the message of hope for their blossoming. Every morning the same light also comes to us raising our curtain of sleep. The only word which it daily repeats to us is: "See." But what is that message of expectation which this word carries? What is that seeing which is as the flowering of our sight? The scene which the light brings before our eyes is inexpressibly great. But our seeing has not been as great as the scene presented to us, we have not fully seen. We have seen mere happenings, but not the deeper truth, which is measureless joy. And yet the morning light daily points its finger to the world. It bends down upon a grass blade with a smile that fills the sky and says to us, "See."

Dr. Nair's Liberty of Speech.

The following telegram will be found very edifying:—

London, August 1.

In the House of Lords, replying to Lord Lamington, Lord Islington said that the Government, after further careful consideration, especially referring to the fact that certain prominent Indians had expressed views on the Report had decided to release Dr. Nair from his undertaking. Simultaneously, in view of the non-differentiation between Indians holding divergent views, the Government had further considered the case of Mr. Tilak who would shortly arrive in England in connection with a legal case. Mr. Tilak had accepted restrictions similar on Dr. Nair, but had expressly stated that he reserved the right of appeal to the Government to reconsider his case. The Government proposed, on Mr. Tilak's arrival, further to consider the case regarding any appeal he might make.

The relevant question is not whether certain prominent Indians had expressed views on the Report and therefore whether others should be allowed to do so or not, but whether Indians of all kinds of political

views would be impartially allowed to proceed to England; to place their views before the British public. Dr. Nair has been allowed to proceed to England and to carry on his political propaganda there, and therefore justice requires that other Indians should be allowed to go there and address the British public,—particularly the members of the Indian deputations turned back after they had finished part of their dangerous voyage. It is not a case between Dr. Nair and Mr. Tilak personally and in their private capacity; and even if it were, the British Government ought to have decided at once and said that Mr. Tilak would be allowed to speak and write on Indian politics as soon as he reached England. Lord Islington has simply said that "Government proposed, on Mr. Tilak's arrival, further to consider the case regarding any appeal he might make." By the time he reaches England, Lord Sydenham, Lord Lamington and other men may be able to discover reasons why Mr. Tilak ought not to be allowed to express his views on the reform scheme in England; and the War Cabinet may very obligingly yield to the pressure of the Sydenham gang. All the incidents connected with Dr. Nair's present visit to England are marked by an appearance of cunning which is discreditable to all the persons concerned. The doctor's malady has been as obliging as the War Cabinet; it left him the very moment he was ready for his propaganda on British soil.

But India will have justice in spite of the efforts of her enemies.

Incidentally we are reminded of the services rendered to the cause of Indian reform by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh. Readers of British newspapers know how many articles he has contributed to the British Press to place the case for India before the British public. How much more he could have done if he could command sufficient resources to keep ten or twenty secretaries.

Reciprocity Between India and the Dominions.

The acceptance of the principle of reciprocity treatment between India and the Dominions is, for the most part, only of theoretical value. It will not result in removing any of the galling, injurious and insulting disabilities under which Indians labour in most parts of the South African Union as regards trading licenses,

the selection of premises for dwelling and trading purposes, travelling in tram cars and railway trains, and other matters. Until Indians in their country have the same amount of political power as the white men of the Dominions have in theirs, there can be no real reciprocity. For the conditions and restrictions as to immigration which any Dominion may lay down would be determined entirely by its white inhabitants with a single eye to their own interests; but the conditions and restrictions which would be laid down by the Government of India would not be determined solely or mainly by the elected representatives of the people of India. For, just as at present the bureaucracy are supreme in the affairs of the Indian Empire, so are they likely to remain after the reform scheme has been given effect to; and the bureaucracy do not act with a single eye to the interest and self-respect of India. Of course, the recognition of the principle of reciprocity will do some good. It will enable travellers on pleasure, men of business and students seeking education to go to the Dominions, and reside there temporarily. It will enable "Indians already permanently domiciled in other British countries" "to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that no more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being lawful wife or child of such Indian." But the observance of these conditions would result in the violation of the sanctity of the marriage tie and great hardship and injustice to married women in many cases. Considering the age at which girls are generally married in India and the marriage customs prevalent among many communities, particularly the Musalmans, the plural wives of a single husband are not to blame for his polygamy. Under the circumstances, to compel a polygamous man to practically discard all his wives (with their issue) except one, would be a great and undeserved wrong to these discarded wives and their children. We are not pleading for the perpetual recognition of polygamy. What would suffice to meet the needs of justice would be to lay down that all the wives who had been married before the promulgation of the reciprocity agreement, and their children, would be admissible to the

Dominions, plural wives married after that date being shut out. It is a curious instance of human hypocrisy that whereas Westerners are "horrified" at the thought of a man having several wives married to him *legally and with religious ceremonies* and therefore having a social status, there is no such horror of practical polygamy of an illicit and disreputable character.

As regards reciprocity in the matter of immigration, the Dominions would shut out Indian labour, and India would be

entitled to shut out only Dominion labour. But whereas Indian labourers require to go to the Dominions, from the Dominions it is not labourers who come here, but traders, professional men, Government officers, men seeking mining and planting concessions, &c. This sort of reciprocity then would be disadvantageous to India, but would continue to enable the white men of the Dominions to exploit India in all the ways in which they have hitherto done so.

THE TAJ MAHAL

PARADOX.

What love exhaled what beauty ! What desire
Broke whitely past the flesh, and in dumb stone
Found silence louder than the heart's wild tone
That for great sorrow built this moonlit pyre !
Flame to white flame, minar and slender spire
He bade arise, consuming his deep moan.
Vain ! Vain !...His grief for us to bliss has grown
Through Beauty's quenchless and preserving fire.
...Canst Thou not leave us to our little ends,
Allah ! nor our dear purposes annoy
With something deeper than the eye can see,
As here, where, more than stricken love intends,
Sorrow is throned on everlasting joy,
And Death is crowned with immortality ?

FORGOTTEN WORKERS.

Ten thousand and ten thousand came and went,
Forgotten builders of one lasting name,
Even as fuel perishes to flame,
Grapes to new wine; their strength for others spent.
Yet here they have enduring monument,
One with the master's whom our lips proclaim ;
Beyond the loud irrelevance of fame,
The worker lost, in his great work content.
...Ah ! smile on us who build Thy house of life,
Allah ! that we, though nameless, have the grace
To perish greatly in Thy rising fane
Where Beauty wields pain's hammer, death's keen knife.
Grant us oblivion in Thy shining Face.
All else forgotten, Thou alone remain.

MURMURS IN THE DOME.

Sunrise...The servant makes his morning round,
And on her tomb his duster flicks and swings
With a soft swish : a raucous beggar sings.
High in the dome, caught swiftly from the ground,
Murmur and murmur echo and rebound,
Transfiguring those abject common things
To heavenly Presences on rustling wings
Joined in a conclave of celestial sound !

...Had we but ears made pure that we might hear,
 Allah ! beyond this flying dust of speech,
 The authentic Voice that our vain words eclipse,
 Ah ! then, the Infinite low murmuring near,
 We might outsing our beggar-whine, and reach
 A Godlike utterance on human lips.

THE PASSING OF THE BUILDER.

For her alone, love's queen, this queenly tomb
 He planned ; and for himself in thought essayed
 On Jamuna's thither margin to be laid
 In a severer pomp of kingly gloom.
 Ah ! vainly men to fashion fate presume :—
 Steadfast through passing empires, here arrayed
 In deathless beauty he himself had made.
 Dust by her dust, he finds his perfect doom.
 -- Open our eyes, and unto them display,
 Allah ! the hidden Taj that through our strife
 Invisibly we build in passion's fire
 And thought's high sculpturing. Grant us each day
 Beautiful burial, sweet death in life,
 And peace at last beside the Heart's Desire.

JAMES H. COUSINS.

HINDU LAW OF STAMPS, COURT-FEES AND COSTS

ALL authorities point to the conclusion that a suitor in ancient India was not required to bring his action in a court of justice by the precious payment of a duty in the shape of stamps as court-fees just as one has to do in our British Indian Courts, nor is it evident that any process-fees was levied from him. The King's attendant performed the duties of the peon and process-server. This was due to the fact that a Hindu sovereign regarded it his paramount duty to administer justice without the thought of any remuneration.

Traces of a variety of fines and costs are abundant.

Ordinarily a successful party had to pay nothing to the king. But an unsuccessful party had to pay costs to his successful adversary who, in his turn, paid a portion thereof to the king.

A defendant who admitted his debt in the midst of the proceeding paid a fine of five in the hundred. If he denied a claim but if it was subsequently proved to be true, a fine of twice the amount was realised from him (*Manu* VIII, 139). A rich and dishonest debtor was dealt with more severely. He was made to pay a fine of twenty per cent. (*Narada* : Colebrooke's Digest, vol. I, p. 378). In

an undefended or *ex parte* case the fine was five in the hundred ; in a contested case it was ten. All these fines went to the royal chest. Yajnavalkya is much to the same effect. He says that although a litigant had not to pay any fees pending the litigation, yet he had to pay some costs after it was over. His statement which has been translated by Colebrooke runs thus :

'A debtor shall be forced to pay to the King ten in the hundred of the sum proved against him ; and the creditor having received the sum due must pay five in the hundred.....'

Colebrooke's Digest, Vol. I,
 C.C. I., XXV, p. 379.

Vishnu also ordains to the same strain. He says that 'if a creditor sue before the King and fully establish his claim, the debtor shall pay a tenth of the sum proved as fine to him ; and the plaintiff, having realised the sum due shall pay a twentieth part of it.....'

(Colebrooke's Digest, vol. I,
 C. C. I., XXVII, p. 381)

All those fines, it is interesting to note, went to the keeping up of the judicial administration of the ancient Hindu sovereigns.

P. C. GHOSH.